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# OHIO

## Archaeological and Historical QUARTERLY.

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### THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE OHIO VALLEY PREVIOUS TO 1840

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BY JANE SHERZER.

The section of country investigated in this paper under the name of "The Ohio Valley" includes Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia; Southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and Kentucky and Tennessee. In West Virginia, in Southern Indiana and Illinois there were no schools for the higher education of women up to 1840. It is true, early in 1840, in Indiana there were two schools started for the higher education of women, — the Rockville Female Seminary on January 31, 1840, and the Crawfordsville Female Institute on February 24, 1840, but they will not be treated in this paper. Neither will we discuss Jacksonville, Illinois, as it is outside of the boundary set for this treatise, although it was a great educational center, for the Beechers had found their way thither. In 1830, or perhaps even before that time, good female academies had been started in that city. Nor can we take the time here to include the female academies in Dayton, Ohio, or that vicinity.

The term, "higher education for women," in those early years covered a course of study not equal to that of good high schools of the present day, but the same may be said of colleges for men, and it was higher in the sense of giving young women an education much beyond the common branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic. It differed from the colleges for men mainly in the substitution of French for Greek, and in the

addition of music and art to the curriculum. The first institutions for the higher education of women were necessarily private, for, although the states had established colleges and universities for their boys, they had ignored the education of the girls and excluded them from all their schools.

MRS. WILLIAMS' SCHOOL, CINCINNATI.<sup>1</sup>

The first school for young ladies in the Ohio Valley was thus advertised in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, July, 1802:—"Mrs Williams begs to inform the inhabitants of Cincinnati that she intends opening a school in the house of Mr. Newman, sadler, for young ladies on the following terms:—Reading, 250 cents; Reading and Sewing, \$3.00; Reading, Sewing, and Writing, 350 cents per quarter." Nothing further is known of the school. It may seem of too primitive a character to be here considered, but it was evidently intended for young ladies, not for children, and it represents the first department in all similar schools of that period.

REV. JOHN LYLE'S SCHOOL, KENTUCKY.<sup>2</sup>

In Kentucky the first of these schools was opened in Paris, in 1806, by the Rev. John Lyle, a Presbyterian clergyman. It prospered with an attendance of about two hundred pupils until in 1810 the President resigned because the trustees objected to the public reading of the Bible in the school, which seems to have broken up the school.

FISK'S FEMALE ACADEMY, HILLMAN, TENNESSEE.<sup>3</sup>

Fisk's Female Academy at Hillman, Overton county, Tennessee, was chartered September 11, 1806; a female academy was chartered at Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1811; and a female academy at Maysville, Blount county, Tennessee, in 1813. No further information is obtainable in regard to these efforts.

<sup>1</sup> Ford, "History of Cincinnati," p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis, "History of Higher Education in Kentucky," p. 33 & f.

<sup>3</sup> Blandin, "History of Higher Education of Women in the South," p. 273.

MRS. LOUISA FITZHERBERT KEATS' SCHOOL, WASHINGTON,  
KENTUCKY.<sup>4</sup>

In 1807 in Washington, Mason county, Kentucky, Mrs. Louisa Fitzherbert Keats opened a school for girls where many of the prominent women of the state were educated. But it was closed for some unknown reason in 1812.

MRS. BECK'S SCHOOL, LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.<sup>5</sup>

Cumings, in his "Tour of the West", mentions also in 1807 "three good boarding schools for girls in Lexington, Kentucky, having over a hundred pupils in attendance." We hear nothing more of these, except the one of Mrs. Beck, "an English lady of high reputation." Her rates were two hundred dollars a year. The course offered reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, grammar, epistolary correspondence, elocution and rhetoric, geography "with the use of maps, globes and the armillary sphere", astronomy "with the advantages of an orrery", ancient and modern history, chronology, mythology, and natural history, moral and natural philosophy, musick,—vocal and instrumental, drawing painting, and embroidery, artificial flowers, and any other fashionable fancy work, plain sewing, marketing, netting; etc. Cumings also mentions that a regular course of education was given, proceeding through successive branches.

LORETTO ACADEMY, LORETTO, KENTUCKY.<sup>6</sup>

Under Catholic supervision the Loretto Academy, Loretto, Kentucky, one of the most famous of the girls' schools in that state, was founded in 1812 by Bishop Flaget and a Belgian priest, the Rev. Charles Nerinck. There was one teacher, Miss Anna Rhoades. Later she was assisted by the Misses Christine Stewart, Anna Haven, Mary Rhodes, and Nellie Morgan. In 1816 Pope Pius VII organized them into a religious order and in 1829 the school was chartered. In 1837, July 16, Mary Jane Lancaster was graduated, and upon her diploma are the names

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<sup>4</sup> Lewis, "History of Higher Education in Kentucky," p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Thwaites, "Early Western Travels," IV, p. 184-5.

<sup>6</sup> Blandin, ps. 41-3, Lewis, 226-7 f.

of the Directress, Mother Isabella Clark; Secretary, Generose Mattingly; Bridget Spaulding, directress; and Bishop Flaget, Ordinary of the Diocese. This school still flourishes and has forty-five branch schools, taught by instructors, trained in the normal department of the parent school at Loretto.

NAZARETH ACADEMY, NAZARETH, KENTUCKY.<sup>7</sup>

Almost contemporary with Loretto in its foundation was Nazareth Academy. It was opened by three ladies whose number was soon increased to five to assist Bishop Flaget. They came December 1, 1812, to reside at St. Thomas, Kentucky. Several additions having been made to their ranks and having been organized into a community of sisters of charity, they founded the school of Nazareth in August, 1814. Although Bishop Flaget originated the plan, yet upon Bishop David, his co-worker, fell the greater part of the care of looking after the interests of the sisters, and hence he is regarded as the real founder. The most prominent of the early members of the order were Mother Catherine Spaulding, the cousin of Archbishop Spaulding, the seventh archbishop of Baltimore. The original school at St. Thomas was both a day school and a boarding school. But in 1812 the Academy was moved to its present location seven miles distant from the original one, and two miles north of Bardstown, the new site being called Nazareth. The day school was discontinued at this time. On December 29, 1829, the school was chartered as Nazareth Academy under a board of seven trustees. Within six years after the change of location twenty thousand dollars was spent in improving the place, and in 1824 there were one hundred and twenty boarders. There are 67 branch schools in Kentucky and other states of the South and West, teachers being furnished for all these schools by a normal school conducted in Nazareth. The patronage of the school has been large, pupils coming from Kentucky and the Southern states.

CINCINNATI LANCASTER SEMINARY, CINCINNATI.<sup>8</sup>

Turning to Ohio again, it may be permissible to mention in this paper a school of a different type,—the Cincinnati Lancaster

<sup>7</sup> Lewis, "History of Higher Education in Kentucky," p. 228 f.

<sup>8</sup> Drake, "Picture of Cincinnati," p. 155-7.



Seminary, founded by Rev. Dr. Wilson and Dr. Daniel Drake, opened in 1815 and chartered by an Act of the General Assembly of Ohio, February 4th of that year under the name of Lancaster Seminary.<sup>9</sup> The school lots were at Fourth and Walnut Streets in Cincinnati, the Presbyterian church executing a ninety-nine year lease of these lots in return for the privilege of selecting twenty-eight poor children to be educated. In 1814 a two-story brick building was erected with two oblong wings stretching 82 feet back from Fourth street. This building was light and airy and was considered the finest public edifice west of the Alleghenies. One wing was for males and one for females, with no passage between except by the portico. It had sittings for 1400 pupils. It was composed of Junior and Senior departments, subdivided into male and female schools. They were taught in the same room but sat on opposite sides, according to Mr. Henry Bradshaw Fearon, an Englishman, who traveled through the United States in 1817. In his "Sketches of America" he also says that he saw 21 males and 19 females in the same room. It is said that young women took diplomas in some of the classes. This Seminary was governed by a board of seven trustees, of which Jacob Burnett was the first President. The school was supported by stockholders who elected the board. To shareholders the price per quarter was eleven shillings and three pence; to all others thirteen shillings and six pence. No information is given in regard to the course of study except that higher branches of literature were taught in the Senior department, and that there were purchases of philosophical apparatus. General Lytle gave \$10,000 worth of land and much cash; Judge Burnett \$5,000 besides a quantity of land; and others gave much cash and land to the school, making the endowment \$50,000. It was organized later on as the Cincinnati College, but met with reverses so that it was closed, and in 1845 the building burned to the ground. The Lancaster method consisted in using the older pupils for tutors and even instructors, and the system is said to have worked well.

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<sup>9</sup> Ford's "History of Cincinnati," p. 179.

MR. WING'S SCHOOL, CINCINNATI.<sup>10</sup>

Ford's history of Cincinnati tells of a school similar to the Lancasterian, kept by Mr. William Wing in 1829, who was succeeded by his son, Edward Wing. It was at the corner of Sixth and Vine streets with the entrance on Sixth street. The floor was like that of a theatre, rising from the south end to the north end. The teacher sat on a stage at the south end and thus had oversight of the entire room. The boys occupied the east side and the girls the west side, next to Vine street.

REV. SLACK'S SCHOOL, CINCINNATI.<sup>11</sup>

There was also, in the north wing of the College building, kept by the Rev. Mr. Slack, a school distinguished by a collection of valuable apparatus and courses of lectures on various branches of study.

NASHVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.<sup>12</sup>

In 1816 in Nashville, Tennessee, in response to a desire of the people for something in the way of education of a higher order for their girls, the Nashville Female Academy was established by a stock company of fifty members. July 4, 1816, Robert White and Thomas Claiborne bought three acres of land from David McGravack for \$1,500, but it was not until August 4, 1817, that the school was opened and October 3 of the same year that a charter was granted by the legislature. The charter appointed a board of seven trustees,—Robert White, Robert Searcy, Felix Grundy, John P. Erwin, John Baird, Joseph T. Elliston, and James Trimble, who were to act until the first Monday in January. Then they were to give way to a new board of seven trustees chosen by the stock-holders of the Academy. Every year thereafter a new board appointed in the same way was to supplant the old one. The Academy grounds and buildings occupied five acres in the center of the city of Nashville, near what is now the Tulane Hotel, extending from Church to

<sup>10</sup> Ford, p. 174-5.

<sup>11</sup> Ford, p. 174.

<sup>12</sup> Merriam, "Higher Education in Tennessee," ps. 245-6.

McLemore and Cedar streets. The first principals were, from 1817-19, Dr. Daniel Berry and Mrs Berry, formerly of Salem, Mass. The Rev. William Hume succeeded Dr. Berry, but he died from cholera in 1833."<sup>13</sup> Then came Dr. R. A. Lapsley, who retired in 1838 on account of ill health. Rev. W. A. Scott was the next principal, remaining until 1840, when the Rev. C. D. Elliott and Dr. R. A. Lapsley became joint principals. Dr. Lapsley soon retired, and Dr. Elliott became sole principal, continuing until the close of the school in 1861.

The course covered four years: primary, two years; academic, four years; collegiate, four years. There were two sessions a day, 9-12 A. M. and 2-4 P. M., with one day vacation at Christmas. The patronage was large.

The campus was very beautiful with its grassy turf and magnificent forest trees. "There were three separate buildings in front, the center one three stories high, the others two stories. They had a frontage of 180 feet, and extended back 280 feet. The center building was of grey brick, with colonial doorways and connecting galleries with paved courts". It contained a chapel, recreation hall, and other attractive features. The recreation hall was 120 feet long and 40 feet wide, with a gallery at one end and a platform at the other. Besides the piano there was what was called a "dancing piano". The latter ground out polkas, mazurkas, and reels by turning a crank. In this hall the girls danced three-quarters of an hour every evening after supper. Much stress was laid on dignity, and grace of carriage, and awkwardness was carefully corrected. Courtesy was demanded from everyone connected with the school and honor was the atmosphere. A matron could not enter a pupil's door without knocking and waiting for permission. Correspondence was sacred. No teacher was permitted to accept a gift with a money value from a pupil nor to correct a pupil in the presence of others. The school was never endowed but depended entirely on tuition fees, yet annually there were admitted five daughters of Masons, five daughters of Odd Fellows, and all the daughters of ministers actively engaged in the ministry. The discipline was very strict. The girls were never allowed to speak to acquaint-

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<sup>13</sup> Blandin, p. 275 ff.

ances when they took their daily walks or attended church. But one day in 1825, when General LaFayette visited Nashville, he was received at the Academy and the girls were released from restraint.

The annual May Day picnic was a great event and commencement a grand occasion, the exercises continuing three or four days, as every maiden read an original essay. The diplomas bore curious Cupid devices with curving wings in pen and ink drawings, duly dated, signed, and sealed by faculty and trustees. The following is the quaint form used in the inscription:—"These presents shall certify to all whom they may concern that ..... has completed the course of study prescribed by the Institution, and that her diligence in pursuit of knowledge and her uniform good conduct whilst a member of the Academy may receive their appropriate reward, we have granted unto and conferred upon her this diploma as a testimonial of our approbation of her correct deportment and of her literary attainments". In 1840 there was an enrollment of 198, the pupils coming from distant places by stage coach and on horseback. Evidently the Nashville Female Academy was a typical boarding school.

#### LAFAYETTE SEMINARY, LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.<sup>14</sup>

In 1821 Lafayette Seminary was founded in Lexington, Kentucky, In 1825, on the sixteenth day of May, it was visited by Lafayette. It then had nine instructors and 135 pupils, and in the four previous years had had a total of 366 pupils from thirteen different states. It claimed to furnish every facility for making thorough and accomplished scholars. In 1826 it was known as Lafayette Female Academy, and had for its principal Josiah Dunborn, A. M. The studies taught were Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Languages, Astronomy, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Composition, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Mathematics, Painting and Drawing, Writing, and Dancing.

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<sup>14</sup> Lewis, "History of Higher Education in Kentucky," p. 34. Blandin, p. 154.



The tuition was \$50.00 and board was \$150.00. Extra branches were \$40.00.<sup>15</sup>

CINCINNATI FEMALE ACADEMY, CINCINNATI.<sup>16</sup>

In 1823 John Locke, M. D., established the Cincinnati Female Academy on Walnut street between Third and Fourth streets. There were teachers in the French language, music, penmanship, and needlework, and an assistant in the preparatory department. Twelve gentlemen formed a Board of Visitors who examined the pupils and superintended the Academy.<sup>17</sup> The price of tuition, exclusive of music and the French language, was from four to ten dollars a quarter. In August of each year there was a public examination at which medals and honorary degrees of the Academy were awarded. Following the annual examination there was a vacation of four weeks. The Academy possessed competent apparatus for illustrations in Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, and for teaching the simple elements of the different branches to the younger pupils. The demonstrative method of teaching was employed by which a knowledge of things instead of words alone was imparted. In fact, it was Pestalozzi's method of instruction. Patrons were carefully informed that the idea entertained by some persons that the system of Pestalozzi tends to infidelity was unfounded.

About four years were required to pass through the prescribed course of study in order to obtain the honorary degree of the Academy. Mrs. Frances Trollope, who in 1828 visited Cincinnati, in her book on "Domestic Manners of Americans," speaks with surprise of an exhibition where the higher branches of Science were among the studies . . . and where "one lovely girl of sixteen *took her degree* in Mathematics . . . and another was examined in Moral Philosophy".

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<sup>15</sup> "School Exercises of Lafayette Female Academy, Lexington, Ky., 1826," Caroline Clifford Nephew.

<sup>16</sup> Ford's "History of Cincinnati," p. 174.

<sup>17</sup> Drake & Mansfield, "Cincinnati in 1826," p. 42 f.

PICKETT'S BOARDING SCHOOL, CINCINNATI.<sup>18</sup>

In 1823 the Cincinnati Female College or school, kept by Albert and John W. Pickett from New York State, seems to have been especially popular. Their method of teaching was the analytic or inductive. Their course of study embraced the ordinary branches taught in a female academy, including the Latin, Greek, and French languages, Music and Drawing. The school occupied a suite of rooms in the south wing of the Cincinnati College edifice. Flint's *Western Monthly Review* of April, 1830, gives an account of the commencement exercises, when eleven gold medals were distributed for proficiency in Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, Music and Painting.

I have in my possession a letter written by one of the pupils of Mr. Pickett's school, dated September 29, 1837. This quaint epistle gives such a vivid description of the college life of a girl in those early days that it is here inserted:

"CINCINNATI, September 29th, Friday afternoon, 1837.

DEAR LIZZY: —

As I have finished my copy and as it is some time until we are called up with our writing, I will commence a letter to you. I am sitting in the third story of Pickett's Female Institution, next Mary Starbuck, amidst a number of girls who were all entire strangers to me two weeks ago, but Harriet Haven and Adelia Goshorn, I am pleased quite beyond my expectation, with my school, and my schoolmates, and my new home, and everything else in the City, but I must confess I was very homesick the first several days that I attended school, in consequence of seeing none but strange faces and Mr. Pickett my teacher was strange to me and the rules of the school were so new, and very different from Miss Havens, but now as I am acquainted with all the young ladies in the senior department I am very happy in my new situation. I will now tell you about our journey down here. Father and I started from Hamilton at 5 o'clock Tuesday, September 12th in the packet *Clarion*, the ladies' cabin was very crowded, Mrs. Campbell was also going down, we took tea at 8 o'clock on the boat. I sat up all night with some of the ladies among whom was a Mrs. Hunt, newly married lady and her husband from Connecticut with whom I became acquainted, she pleased me very much by telling me of her travels over the United States, they were very informing and interesting to me. We arrived at Cincinnati very early in the morning, Father and I left the boat and went to Carters,

<sup>18</sup> Drake & Mansfield, "Cincinnati in 1826," p. 43 f.

that afternoon we visited the different schools accompanied by Mr. Barnes, we were pleased with them all but more with Picketts. On Fryday evening father left me for Hamilton. I felt I can't tell how at being left alone twenty-five miles from my nearest and dearest relatives. I am boarding at Dr. McGuire's on George Street, a private family, they have but one child and that a little boy. Mrs. McGuire was formerly Louisa Walden, the lady who painted that beautiful Geranium in Georgetta Haven's Album, she is a graduate of Dr. Lockes, her sister Elizabeth is here spending some time with her, she is a young lady of my age and very mild and pleasant, we have fine times together. Next week we have no school on account of the convention of teachers which will be very great, gentlemen from all parts of the Union are coming to it some have already arrived, our school was this morning visited by a Mr. Scott of Tennessee, one of the members. I promised myself a great deal of pleasure in expectation of some of the girls coming to the convention, but I am afraid I shall be disappointed for Mr. McGuire speaks of taking us all to Perrinsville a village about twenty miles below Cincinnati to spend the week. I attended the theater one evening last week, the performance was the "Robbers wife" and "Soldiers Daughter." Mrs. Shaw is the only theatrical star in the city and she will leave in a few days, but the whole Ravel family will be here in a week or two, which consists of eighteen persons, the great french dancers, they will draw full houses. The new theater is situated on Sycamore Street, it is very richly decorated with Chandaliers and paintings and curtains part of which are white satin.

Last Sunday I was out all afternoon in a gig riding with a *friend*. We went eight miles below Cincinnati past the Hunting park, we past some of the most splendid country seats.

I believe I have told you all I know of any consequence and school is very near out so I must finish as soon as possible. Reply soon, Direct your letter to me in care of Dr. T. McGuire, Cincinnati, it is immaterial about the street. Give my love to all my acquaintances, reserving a large share for your self. Answer this by a long letter.

I am your loving

friend AMELIA C. HITTELL.

MISS ELIZABETH FISHER.

Adelia Goshorn attends school every day, she in the first junior class, she is in our room with her class three forenoons in the week, she is a very intelligent girl I believe, I have but a few opportunities of speaking to her.

A. C. H.

MISS ELIZABETH FISHER,  
Rossville,  
Ohio."

CINCINNATI BOARDING SCHOOLS.<sup>19</sup>

According to Drake and Mansfield the oldest female boarding school in Cincinnati was kept by the Misses Bailey, "women well qualified and of high respectability", assisted by Mr. F. Eckstein. It was located on Broadway between Market and Columbia streets. The date of its founding is unknown. All the elementary, as well as the higher, branches of female education, including the French language, Music, Painting, and Drawing, were taught in this institution.<sup>20</sup>

There was also a school kept by Mrs. Ryland, an English woman of much culture.

In 1833 Mrs. Caroline Lee Heintz, the celebrated novelist, together with her husband, a cultured Frenchman, had a popular school for a short time.<sup>21</sup> In the same year is mentioned one on the site of St. John's Hospital, kept by Miss Catherine Beecher and her sister, Harriett. But Harriett soon married Professor Stowe and Catherine became a missionary for female education in the West. Miss Mary Duton, as assistant, then took charge. but after a time she gave up and went to New Hampshire, where she maintained a flourishing school for many years.

SCIENCE HILL ACADEMY, SCIENCE HILL, KENTUCKY.<sup>22</sup>

March 25, 1825, the Rev. John Tevis, a Methodist clergyman, and Mrs. Tevis opened a school for girls at Science Hill, Shelbyville, Kentucky. This school is still in existence, although it has always been a private enterprise without endowment. Before the War many hundreds of girls attended, often staying four or five years without returning home. During the War many girls from the South remained two or three years with Mrs. Tevis at her own expense, some never hearing from home during that time. At first the school enrolled but twenty pupils, only four of whom were boarders. It is known as "An English and Classical school for Girls", furnishing a thorough course of

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<sup>19</sup> Drake & Mansfield, p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Ford, 174-5.

<sup>21</sup> Ford, p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> Blandin, p. 154 ff.



first-class quality, which prepares for the leading colleges for women. "No sham" is the motto of teachers and pupils.

STEUBENVILLE FEMALE SEMINARY.<sup>23</sup>

April 13, 1829, the Rev. Charles C. Beatty and wife founded the Steubenville Female Seminary at Steubenville, Ohio. It had a decidedly religious basis and was successful. Quoting from one of their announcements: The location of the Seminary is considered peculiarly eligible in healthfulness of the surrounding country, and character of the place for morality and intelligence. The large and commodious buildings stand in one edge of the town, and in a commanding situation on the Ohio river, with sufficient ground adjoining to admit of exercise and recreation within its own limits. Besides the large, imposing main edifice there are contiguous buildings 165 feet in length. There are fifty lodging rooms designed for two pupils, each sufficiently lighted and ventilated. But as the young ladies study in the General Hall and not in their rooms, it is thought neither necessary nor conducive to health to have fire in the sleeping chambers.

The seminary is divided into two distinct departments. The pupils occupy separate school rooms and are subjected to a somewhat different arrangement and method of management and instruction. Still, they are only treated as older and younger children of the same family. The preparatory or girls' school comprises none in general older than twelve. In order to enter the applicant must be able to read. It consists of two classes: Introductory, for those who are merely reading and spelling, together with receiving oral instructions on various subjects; Primary, who are in addition attending to Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, English, Grammar, and first lessons in Botany, Natural Philosophy, Geometry, etc. The Principal School, or Young Ladies' Department, consists of all who enter the seminary over ten years of age. For admission to this a pupil must either be that old or have passed through all the studies of the Preparatory school. It is divided into three

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<sup>23</sup> "Outline of Steubenville Female Seminary," in bound volume of Addresses.

classes, Middle, Junior, and Senior. Into the first all are admitted who have entered this school; and they continue in it until they are prepared to enter the higher classes. The studies of this class will be (for those who have not previously attended to them), Writing, Reading, Orthography, Arithmetic, Geography, Modern and Ancient, with drawing maps, History, ancient and modern, but especially of our country, English Grammar, Composition, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Biblical, Roman and Grecian Antiquities, Watts "On the Mind," Human Physiology, Political Class Book, etc. The studies of the Junior and Senior classes are each designed to occupy a year and prepare the young lady for graduating with honor to herself and the institution. No one is admitted to them who has not passed a satisfactory examination on the subjects which precede, nor in ordinary cases until she shall have been for some time a member of the Seminary. The studies will be Botany, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geometry, Algebra, Rhetoric, Criticism, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Evidences of Christianity, Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, etc. In recitations these regular divisions are not kept separate, but all the pupils are arranged in temporary classes as may best promote the good of individuals. Text books for the several classes are carefully selected and but rarely changed. Music, Drawing, and Painting are apart from the regular studies of the classes. Ancient and Modern languages may either be studied with the regular classes or omitted as is seen proper. A liberally educated gentleman from Europe is permanently engaged to give lessons in French. Vocal Music will be attended to as a general exercise in both departments, and particularly taught when desired. The Principal has the general care of the school in regard to the methods of instruction. In organizing at the commencement of each term, she, together with the Superintendent, is chiefly occupied in arranging the various studies, forming various classes, and attaching to them the respective teachers in their appropriate departments. Afterwards she instructs some of the classes, and also visits occasionally the several teachers in their class rooms to see that the same methods of instruction and the same degree of accuracy are maintained by all. The duties devolving upon

the governess have reference principally to regular school hours. During these she is to preside in the hall, to assemble and dismiss the school, to attend to the sending out and return of classes, and to maintain order and quiet there during the hours of the recitation. She also instructs or superintends the instruction in Penmanship. All permissions are sought from, and excuses rendered to the Governess, who also countersigns the regular reports made to the parents. The instruction of the scholars in the various branches is committed to the teachers, who are selected with the greatest care. So far as may be, each teacher is confined to a few branches of study.

In order that the undivided attention of the class be most effectively secured the recitations are conducted in separate rooms. In matters in which household arrangements are concerned, as the care of the lodging rooms and table, and especially attendance on those who are sick, the young ladies are under the supervision of the matron, and domestics are only accessible to their directions through her express permission. The equipment of the school consists of maps, globes, and various astronomical, philosophical, and chemical apparatus, a cabinet, and a library consisting of two departments, one comprising about four hundred volumes selected especially for the pleasure reading of the young ladies; the other containing about the same number of scientific and class books for the use of the scholars and teachers, and the explanation of the various branches of study. Besides these there is a library commenced by the Society of Inquiry on Missions, and the extensive private library of the Superintendent is open to all the school.

Health is regarded as a thing of the first importance. Pupils are required to take exercises of various kinds in the open air. School exercises are short that they may frequently change their posture. In the middle of every morning and afternoon session there is a recess, during which they are encouraged to a free use of their limbs and tongues, as well as a free flow of the animal spirits. Calisthenics is taught as a regular part of the course, and all the pupils practice in them every day. The able and excellent physician watches constantly over the health of the whole establishment, and has even kindly delivered systematic

lectures of the most valuable character to the school upon the care of the physical frame, the prevention of diseases. Human physiology is also a subject of study.

The Bible is more or less studied every day. The religious principles inculcated are those common to all Evangelical Protestants. The government of the institution, both as to the family and school, should be understood as that of authority entirely parental and mild, but decided and firm. Reports are sent to parents and guardians every two months. They are made from daily memoranda kept by all the teachers. The year is divided into two sessions, with a vacation at the close of each, in the months of August and April. Each session is divided into two quarters.

Terms for boarders where only two are in a room are, per quarter, \$35.00; where more than two are in a room, or for members of the preparatory school, \$33.00. No extra charge is made for remaining during the vacations. Extra charges are made for instruction in instrumental music and the use of the piano, — \$10.00. Lessons in drawing and painting, — \$4.00; French, \$5.00; Washing, per dozen, 36 cents; when fire is required in sleeping room for the winter session, each,—\$8.00. Some articles of stationery and the use of some books are furnished without charge. The winter session begins on the last Monday of October, and the summer session on the last Monday of April. Special facilities will be afforded to those who are desirous of qualifying themselves as teachers. In the winter session, regular lectures and instruction will be given for this purpose. For those attending this class who do not intend to be teachers, there will be an additional charge of \$5.00.

The friends of the Seminary have selected a number of gentlemen in the place to act as visitors of the school, and to confer with the Superintendent. From them valuable suggestions and aid are received by the Superintendent and Principal.

The above has been quoted in detail because it gives the most complete outline of such institutions that the writer has been able to find. The Steubenville Female Seminary seems to have been one of the most pretentious and one of the best of the



higher institutions of learning for women in those early days. It flourished for many years and was only recently closed.

OXFORD FEMALE ACADEMY, OXFORD.

In Oxford, Ohio, in response to a demand from the faculty of Miami University that their daughters might have an opportunity of higher education such as their sons were receiving in the Miami University, there was opened a school for girls in 1830. Miss Bethania Crocker, the daughter of a Congregational clergyman of Massachusetts, was put in charge. This young girl, although but sixteen years of age, had been given a thorough education by her father, including Greek, Latin and Hebrew. She was aided in her work by the counsel of President Bishop of Miami University, and Professors McGuffey and John Winfield Scott. After three or four years this talented young woman married the Rev. George Bishop, son of President R. H. Bishop of Miami University.<sup>24</sup> The Misses Smith and Clark from the East then continued the school, one of these women being the sister-in-law of Henry Ward Beecher. They soon were married and gave place to other principals, among them the Misses Lucy and Ann North, all of whom married professors from Miami or clergymen.<sup>25</sup>

February 27, 1839, the school was chartered as the Oxford Female Academy by a special act of the Legislature for a period of thirty years, the incorporators being John W. Scott, William Graham, James E. Hughes, William W. Robertson, Herman B. Mayo, George G. White, and James Leach, and the capital stock was limited to \$10,000. The corporate concerns of the said Academy were to be managed by a Board of seven trustees, who were to be elected annually by the stockholders. This school formed the nucleus of The Oxford College for Women, at the present time a prosperous, standard college, the oldest Protestant school for women in the United States conferring the B. A. degree.

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<sup>24</sup> Porter, "History of First Presbyterian Church of Oxford," ps. 36-9.

<sup>25</sup> Upham, "Old Miami," ps. 136-53.

Only one catalog of those early days is in existence,—a catalog of the year 1838-9, in the possession of Mrs. DeNise DeNise (Mary E. Schenck of Franklin, Ohio; of the class of 1839), now of Burlington, Iowa, the oldest living graduate of the Institution.<sup>26</sup> The teachers at the time were Miss Ann L. North, Principal; Miss Marion Crume, Assistant; Miss Sarah E. Werz, Instructor in Vocal Music; and Mrs. M. N. Scott, Instructor in Instrumental Music. There were fifty-four pupils in attendance, the roll including Caroline L. Scott, who was to become the wife of President Benjamin Harrison. The Academy was divided into two departments, each department divided into two classes. In the first department First Class, were taught Reading, Writing, Spelling, Ray's Eclectic Arithmetic, First Lessons of Philosophy for Children, Parley's History of Geology and History of Animals, First Book of History, tuition per quarter \$3.00. In the second class were Goldsmith's History of Greece and Rome, Smith's Grammar, Colburn's Mental Arithmetic, Goodrich's History of the United States, Malt Brun's Geography, Human Physiology, Davies' Arithmetic, and Comstock's Natural Philosophy, commenced; tuition per quarter \$3.75. The Junior class (second department) studied Davies' Arithmetic and Comstock's Natural Philosophy, (continued), Kirkham's Grammar, Whelpley's Compend of Ancient and Modern History, Watts "On the Mind," Colburn's Algebra, Mrs. Lincoln's Botany, Paley's Natural Theology, Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, Jones' Chemistry, Geography of the Heavens, Geology, Legendre's Geometry (commenced), tuition per quarter \$5.00. In the Senior class the subjects were Legendre's Geometry (continued), Hedge's Logic; Paley's Evidences of Christianity; Newman's Political Economy; Kames' Criticism; Mental Philosophy; Butler's Analogy; Wayland's Moral Philosophy; and Davies' Algebra. For instruction in the French language, Drawing, Painting, and Instrumental Music, additional charge was made. The daily study of the Holy Scriptures, Writing, and Vocal Music were continued through the whole course. A weekly composition was required of every pupil, to be read and carefully criticized. A paper edited and furnished with original pieces by the young

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<sup>26</sup> "Catalog of the Oxford Female Academy," 1838-9.

ladies afforded an advantage to those who wished to improve their talent of writing. Every scholar, on her entrance into school, was examined in the fundamental branches, as Spelling, Reading, etc., and if found deficient, was expected to devote some time to their acquisition and, if possible, to become well-versed in them "as a thorough acquaintance with the elementary studies is indispensable to a correct education". Particular care was taken to have the young ladies thorough in all they studied, and "no one was permitted to pursue such a variety of branches at one time as to dissipate and weaken rather than strengthen the intellectual faculties."

"The year is divided into two terms and vacations. The winter term commences the first Monday of October, and closes the first Wednesday of March. It is succeeded by a vacation of two weeks. The summer term commences the third Wednesday of March and closes the third Wednesday of August. It is succeeded by a vacation of about six weeks. Those who pass a thorough examination in the preparatory studies will be admitted into the Junior class. Those who pass a similar examination in the elementary branches and those of the Junior class may be admitted into the Senior class. Those who, in addition, are well acquainted with the studies of the Senior class, will, at the close, receive a testimonial of having completed with honor the course of study in this Institution. Pupils of the Academy are favored gratuitously with a course of weekly lectures in Natural Science, with an extensive apparatus and means of illustration, by Prof. Scott of Miami University."

Recently it was the privilege of the writer to spend a few hours with Mrs. DeNise DeNise of Burlington, Iowa. Although in her ninetieth year she has full possession of all her faculties and converses about her school days in Oxford with the vivacity of a young woman. With two other prospective pupils she drove to Oxford from Franklin, a distance of 28 miles, in a private conveyance. With several of her classmates she lived in the home of Mr. Harry Lewis, one of the family to which the husband of Mrs. Phillip Moore belongs. The pupils from a distance were thus taken care of in the homes of the people of Oxford, and formed the first cottage system, which has had in recent

years its fullest development at Smith College. She described the school room vividly, — a long rectangular room, with a platform at one end on which sat the presiding teacher. Benches, ranged around the walls, were occupied by the students during the day. The class reciting was summoned to the seats immediately in front of the instructor. The curriculum was the one above described.

Another one of the early graduates was Mrs. William C. Woods (Juliette Elmina Jameson of Eaton, Ohio), who was graduated as valedictorian about 1833. She was the mother of Mrs. W. T. Poynter, now the Principal of the Science Hill Academy at Shelbyville, Kentucky.

#### THE SCHOOLS OF CLARKSVILLE, TENNESSEE.<sup>27</sup>

In Clarksville, Tennessee, the oldest girls' school was "Mrs. Killebrew's Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies". "Many most elegant women were educated at this school which continued until 1835." In 1833 Dr. L. D. Ring taught a high school for girls at the Masonic Hall. It was called "high" because he taught the classics, including French. In 1835 the Rev. Mr. Russell and wife taught successfully for a year or two the Masonic Female Institute in Masonic Hall. They were succeeded by Mrs. Whitman.

#### WASHINGTON FEMALE SEMINARY, WASHINGTON, PA.

In Western Pennsylvania no efforts were made for the education of girls until November 26, 1835, when a meeting for the organization of a female seminary was held and the Washington Female Seminary was opened in the spring of 1836.<sup>28</sup> The first principal was Mrs. Frances Biddle, who was succeeded in 1840 by Miss Sarah B. Foster, afterwards Mrs. Hanna. It has continued until the present day without assuming the rank of a college, but preparing for the best of our women's colleges.

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<sup>27</sup> Blandin, p. 285.

<sup>28</sup> Letter from President J. D. Moffat, Washington & Jefferson College.



COLUMBIA FEMALE INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA, TENNESSEE.<sup>29</sup>

Under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal church the Columbia Female Institute in the suburbs of Columbia, Tenn., was founded in 1836 by the Bishops Leonidas Polk and James Harvey Otey. The castellated structure stood on a hill surrounded by forest trees. The Rev. Franklin G. Smith was the principal from 1838 until 1852. Bishop Otey wrote in 1852:—"I have spent the best energies of my soul and passed the most vigorous years of my life in its (the Institute's) cause, or it would have been hopelessly ruined by its load of debt. For five or six years I have labored incessantly, being sometimes absent for six months from my house and family, in my efforts to raise funds for its relief. I have worked hard and worked long without hope of fee or reward other than the humble expectation of being serviceable to the people among whom Providence has cast my lot". Nothing further is known of its work in those early days except that it was established with a view to giving a collegiate course to girls under the direction of the Episcopal church.

HOWARD COLLEGE, GALLATIN, TENNESSEE.<sup>30</sup>

Howard College was founded in 1837 at Gallatin, Tennessee. It later became the property of the Odd Fellows, and was chartered in 1856.

Summarizing, we may say that Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio were the pioneers in the higher education of women in the Ohio Valley up to 1840. The schools were, on the whole, similar in type, varying in their curriculums, in quantity and quality. Ohio, with its modest beginning in 1802, was the first of which we have record. Kentucky and Tennessee were especially active and popular in the boarding school education for young women, having large patronage from other states. Two of the schools in Ohio, the Lancaster and Wing schools in Cincinnati, were really co-educational, although professing to separate the females from the males. Ohio may claim the distinction not only of making the first step in the education of women in the Ohio

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<sup>29</sup> Blandin, ps. 282-4.

<sup>30</sup> Blandin, p. 284 f.

Valley, but also of having the only school from that early date, i. e., The Oxford College for Women, continue its existence up to the present time as a standard college, all the other schools for women in the Ohio Valley having either closed their doors after a brief existence or else having continued as preparatory schools or Junior colleges.

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## EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY WESTERN EDUCATION.

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BY WILLIS L. GARD.

To-day we look upon education as a process by means of which the individual acquires experiences that tend to modify conduct and that aid in meeting new situations in life. These experiences are acquired through tradition and the school. Often the most effective part of an individual's education comes as the result or incidental experiences in an effort to subjugate his environment. These experiences frequently crystallize into tradition and are passed on to further generations, thus forming a vital element in the education of the new generation. It is this wider meaning of education that I wish to hold in mind while outlining some of the European influences on early western education.

In the Ohio Valley we find several settlements made by people direct from Europe. They brought with them their traditions and conceptions of life, their enterprise and skill, which did not perish with the fathers and mothers but have been treasured in the lives of the people with whom they came in contact. One such settlement was made at Gallipolis, Ohio. In February 1790, a company of six hundred French left their native land for a home on the western continent. These people had been forced to leave their homes by the unsettled state of affairs in France. They believed that a far happier life would greet them on the banks of the Ohio in the American wilderness. Many disappointments and hardships awaited them before reaching their destination. But once in their new location they set to work conquering their environment and preparing new homes. Twenty years passed before they felt free to establish the time-honored and much appreciated Gallia Academy. It was on February 8, 1810, that a meeting was called to consider the expediency of erecting in Gallipolis an institution for

instructing the youth and for such other purposes as may be deemed of public utility. It is one of the oldest institutions of learning in the state of Ohio, and in its halls nearly all the older residents of Gallipolis and Gallia county received their education. The historian of this city says: "From its portals have passed many who have won for themselves fame in after years; men whom the country delighted to honor, as well as those, who, in the more quiet walks of life, have met the requirements of good and upright citizenship, and who were representatives of that class which comprise the rank and file of those who labored for the sure and steady advancement of our country."<sup>1</sup>

But perhaps the greatest educational force of this community was not its honored academy, but the traits of character possessed by the citizens. Their historian tells us that their lives were marked by an earnestness of purpose, bravery, and a love of country. These traits they passed on to their sons and daughters. We have no way of measuring the educational value of such traits upon the community at large. Neither can we overlook the fact that here was a force that was quietly modifying the character of a community. It is true that the French have been largely replaced by the American, but let us listen once more to Mr. Vance, the historian of the city: "We cannot forget, however, that it was the French hands that laid the foundation, and the French mind which planned the building in its earliest stages, so that to the French rather than to the American is due the prosperity of after years."<sup>2</sup> Without giving further details regarding French influence on education in the Ohio Valley, let me quote a brief statement from President Ellis of Vincennes University concerning French influence on that locality. He says, "The foreign (French) influence upon education in Vincennes has been pronounced—radical conservatism characterizing every undertaking of this people which contemplated reforms or innovations. These people—as good neighbors as one could desire—are wont to believe the things which satisfied their fathers should satisfy this genera-

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<sup>1</sup> Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications, Vol. III, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Op. Cit. p. 80.



tion. They take no step, however, from which they are ever forced to recede."

At Paddy's Run, twenty-two miles northwest of Cincinnati, we find a Welsh settlement. The present name of the village is Shandon. The settlement dates from 1796. The early settlers had much the same experience as other pioneers of their times. In time a public road was opened between Cincinnati and the Miami, thus furnishing a convenient market for the products of the new settlement. One result was that the earliest settlers became landowners, thus laying the foundation for a prosperous community. It should be stated that the first settlers came from Llanbrynmair of North Wales. These people were noted for their moral and religious qualities. They brought with them their Bibles and their religious faith. Scarcely had their cabins been constructed before the house of worship appeared. A Congregational church was organized in 1803. In 1819 a Sunday-school was organized and has been an important factor in the religious life of the community. It seems that the first school was conducted in a log schoolhouse erected in 1808. The teacher was Polly Willey. She had twenty pupils and drew a salary of seventy-five cents a week and boarded around. The second teacher was a Mr. Jenkins, who taught not only from the text-books but also gave instruction in a code of "Morals and Manners" of his own. We find that in 1821 a boarding school was opened for advanced scholars by Rev. Thomas Thomas. Here are a few of the men who received their early education in the schools of Paddy's Run: Charles Selden, Rev. T. E. Thomas, William Dennison, Governor of Ohio in 1861; G. M. Shaw, of Indiana, and Hon. Daniel Shaw, of Louisiana; Murat Halstead, Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of *Review of Reviews*; William Bebb, Governor of Ohio 1846-1848, Dr. Knowles Shaw, evangelist; Rev. Mark Williams, missionary. Let us listen to a brief paragraph of Mr. Jones, the historian of the settlement:—"Indeed, the most remarkable fact in connection with the history of this settlement is the great interest taken in the proper education and religious instruction and training of the young. This is true of all Welsh settlements, but it is truly remarkable in the case of Paddy's

Run. Scores of men have gone out from this Welsh settlement to gain prominence in their chosen profession. It is estimated that the church alone has given to the world ten ministers, five foreign missionaries, five teachers in the American Missionary Work, two eminent journalists, one hundred and five teachers, a score of physicians and several attorneys-at-law".<sup>3</sup>

It has been remarked that the first thing that a Frenchman does in a new country is to build a trading post; the first thing an Englishman does is to build a blockhouse; but the first thing a Welshman does is to build a church. The last phrase of the statement is verified in the history of the Welsh settlement at Welsh Hills, Licking County, Ohio. In the first decade of the last century a number of Welsh families found new homes on the hills near Granville. Just as soon as a sufficient number had reached the settlement a church was organized. This event took place September 4, 1808. The settlers worshiped for a while in private houses, but in 1809 a log church was built. This church has done a great deal to hold the people true to the faith of their fathers and has been a means in preserving the traditions of the race. These pioneer Welshmen regarded education as the handmaid of religion and very early took steps to establish a school. John Philipps, who had been a school teacher in Pennsylvania, reached the settlement in 1806 and at once began to teach the youth of the neighborhood in his log cabin. Later in 1806 a log school house was built which served the people till 1825, when it was replaced by "The Old Stone School House", which was still standing in 1907. The school was attended by sixty pupils in winter and forty in summer. Many of the boys from this school found their way to Denison University at Granville, and a large number of them are graduates from that institution. Most of these settlers had learned a trade before leaving Wales and as a consequence made awkward but ambitious farmers. They were content with small farms, few cultivating as much as two hundred acres. They believed in harvesting and saving every grain. They were supporters of the temperance cause and early in their history denounced slavery. Perhaps the following resolution

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<sup>3</sup>Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications, Vol. XVI, p. 203.

from their church in 1836 will best show their character:—  
“Resolved that this Association utterly abhors the vile system of slavery as practiced in the Southern States and recommends to all Christians to use every lawful and consistent means for the immediate and total abolition thereof”.<sup>4</sup>

At least one more Welsh settlement in the Ohio Valley must claim our attention for a moment. In April, 1818, six families left Cardiganshire, South Wales, for Paddy's Run near Cincinnati, but as a result of one misfortune after another they gave up the original destination and found a home in Gallia and Jackson counties, Ohio. For a few years these people suffered great hardships. About 1833 Rev. Edward Jones visited the Welsh pioneers and on his return to Wales gave such a favorable account of the possibilities of Gallia and Jackson counties that new settlers from Cardiganshire began to pour into the neighborhood. These pioneers, like their fellow countrymen who settled at Welsh Hills, had little knowledge of the use of implements of farming. Besides they had selected a region that had a very poor soil and was far distant from markets. But in spite of these obstacles, these hardy pioneers, in a few years, owned farms, had them stocked, and had money laid away for future emergencies. The country is rich in limestone and iron ore and soon furnaces were built for the manufacture of pig iron. These people as a whole were thrifty and well-to-do. Their historian says that rarely do we find one of these immigrants or their immediate descendants in the poor house or prison.

These early pioneers understood the value of education and sought to secure it for their children. In the early days the school houses were few and were reached by long and perilous journeys for the children. The architecture of these buildings was uniform with other pioneer school houses. They were of a rude, primitive style, built from round logs. They had the usual stick and mud chimney built outside with a fireplace burning logs six and seven feet long. The door, usually made of clapboards, had its wooden latch and hinges. Light in some instances was admitted through window glass but more often

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<sup>4</sup>Op. Cit. p. 209.

through oiled paper. The puncheon floor hewn from saplings and the benches made from split logs completed the furnishings. "Here in these small, dusty, prison-like rooms the school master stood, and with rod in hand, savage looks, and gruff voice, crammed the three R's into our hollow craniums".<sup>5</sup>

The religiosity of these pioneers shows itself in their loyalty to the church and the Sabbath School. Immediately upon their arrival they erected a house of worship and established prayer meetings and Sabbath schools in the chapel. The family altar was found in almost every home and the parents took great pains to instruct their children in the principles of righteousness and the doctrines of the church. At this point I wish to let Rev. Evans say a word for this settlement: "Thus we see that the few hundred Welshmen who came to the poor, hilly counties of Gallia and Jackson, needy and penniless, and strangers to the language, customs and institutions of the country, have accomplished great work, and have contributed marvelously to the material, intellectual, moral and civic development of the above named counties. Thousands of the descendants of these brave pioneers have scattered abroad into every state in the Union, among them many teachers, doctors and lawyers and a score of preachers, and their influence is beyond human calculation."<sup>6</sup> Had we time it would be interesting to study other Welsh settlements, but I trust enough has been said to show something of the wholesome influence of Welshmen on education and the shaping of character in the Ohio Valley.

A few words must be added regarding the German influence. At the outset I wish to assure you that it will be impossible for me to give you anything like an adequate account of this influence. Let us first mention the Moravian movement. Under the leadership of Zeisberger and Heckewelder the Moravians established a mission at Gnadenhutten, Tuscarawas county, Ohio, in 1772. It was primarily a mission for the Indians but in due time a school was established and a spelling-book was prepared for the use in their school. While these Moravians do not seem to have taken an active part in shaping

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<sup>5</sup> Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publication, Vol. XVI, p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications, Vol. XVI, p. 221.



educational methods and policies of the Ohio Valley, yet no one who reads the early history of this settlement can fail to recognize the wholesome influence of these people on the character of the community.

Another German influence was the Separatist Society of Zoar. In the spring of 1818 the colonists reached their new home under the leadership of Joseph Bimeler. They were almost wholly unskilled workmen from Württemberg. Bimeler was of humble and obscure origin, yet a man of unusual ability and independence. He was a teacher, a natural leader, and a fluent speaker. Bimeler recognized the example of the parents as the most efficacious factor in education. He exhorted his people to live exemplary lives, believing that too much instruction fills the child with abhorrence for the word of God. This little society of Zoar prospered for many years. The people lived a quiet and contented life but had a slight influence on education. Perhaps a stanza from Gray's *Elegy* best tells their story:

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,  
Their sober wishes never learned to stay;  
Along the cool sequestered vale of life,  
They kept the even tenor of their way."

A quotation from an address by Barnard Peters on "The German Pioneers" will serve to summarize what we have to say regarding the German influence. "The Germans who came here early were men of thrift. — They have materially helped to advance among you the march of civilization. — They have in a practical way demonstrated the fact that they have understood the importance of having all safe and good government founded on law and order, on religion and education".<sup>7</sup>

An account of the foreign influence on education in the Ohio Valley that leaves out the work of Robert Owen and his co-laborers would be incomplete. Only the briefest sketch of the work can be given here.

Robert Owen had for his motto, "Man does not form his own character but it is made for him." He recognized heredity, will, and environment as forces in the shaping of the character

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<sup>7</sup> Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications, Vol. II, p. 62.



of men but he assigned the place of honor to environment. It was his faith in this factor that led him to improve the environment of children at New Lanark, Scotland. It would be interesting and profitable to study his educational efforts here and to see how he applied the principles of the great Swiss reformer to a concrete situation. The schools at New Lanark are taken as the model for the schools at New Harmony. In the New Harmony venture we have a successful attempt to apply Pestalozzian principles to American conditions, furnishing a great impetus to the scientific spirit in our country and leading to a series of movements which had profound influence on education in the Ohio Valley and elsewhere.

Robert Owen entrusted the educational affairs of the new venture to William Maclure, a man thoroughly in sympathy with the ideas of Pestalozzi and Mr. Owen. Mr. Maclure was born in Ayr, Scotland, in 1763. When thirty-three years of age, he came to America for the purpose of making a geological survey of the United States. So thoroughly did he perform this piece of work that he earned for himself the title of "The Father of American Geology." For seven summers he traveled through Switzerland, each time spending some months at Pestalozzi's school at Yverdun. He pays a high tribute to the work he saw. Let us state it in his own words: "I do not recollect ever to have heard a cry or any demonstration of pain or displeasure nor even an angry word from teacher or pupil all the time I lived among them. One of the most beneficial consequences is the pleasure all of Pestalozzi's pupils took in mental labor and study. Though I often went out of my way fifty leagues to examine young men taught under this system, I do not remember ever finding one of an ill-natured temper or bad conduct of all I saw either in Europe or in this country, and I usually found them greatly superior in all the useful accomplishments to all those educated by other methods".

On his first visit to Pestalozzi's school, he asked for some disciple capable of carrying out the work in America. Joseph Neef was named and Mr. Maclure aided him to establish a Pestalozzian school in Philadelphia. For a time the school was a success but owing to the mannerisms of Mr. Neef he found opposition growing and he withdrew to Louisville, Kentucky.

Soon after the New Moral World was established on the Wabash, Neef joined the teaching force of that place.

When Mr. Maclure became responsible for the system of education in the new social venture at New Harmony, he gathered about him several members of the teaching staff of the earlier school at Philadelphia. He was also joined by some scientists that had been attracted to him by his distinguished achievements in geology. When all was ready this famous group of men, known as "The Boat-load of Knowledge", set out for the New Moral World only eight months after Robert Owen had established the colony. Scarcely had he reached New Harmony before he began to organize a system of education based on the Pestalozzian principles of instruction. I shall let Mr. Maclure state for himself the great or fundamental principles of education as he saw them: "The great or fundamental principle is, never to attempt to teach children what they cannot comprehend, and to teach them in the exact ratio of their understanding without omitting one line in the chain of ratiocination, proceeding always from the known to the unknown, from the most easy to the most difficult; practicing the most extensive and accurate use of all the senses; exercising, improving, and perfecting all the mental and corporal faculties by quickening combination; accelerating and carefully arranging comparison; judiciously and impartially making deductions; summing up the results free from prejudice; and cautiously avoiding the illusions of the imagination, a constant source of ignorance and error."<sup>8</sup> In his course of study he provided for mechanics, mathematics, science, writing, drawing, music, gymnastics, languages, and manual training. An infant school for children from two to five years of age was opened. This was an exact copy of Owen's infant school at New Lanark. There was also a higher school for children from five to twelve years of age. These schools were primarily for the children of the community but it is interesting to note that pupils came from as far away as Philadelphia and New York seeking the advantages of the new Pestalozzian principles offered in these schools. As for co-education the doctrine of the new social system declared, "It is contemplated in

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<sup>8</sup> Silliman's Journal 1826, Cited by Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*, p. 236.

Mr. Owen's system, by giving our female population as good an education as our male, to qualify them for every situation in life in which, consistently with their organization, they may be placed."<sup>9</sup> This statement in 1826 was so revolutionary in character that it served to attract public attention to the educational experiment on the Wabash. It is stated that while a few private and endowed schools had been founded to offer better educational advantages to girls, the New Harmony schools were the first public schools in the United States to offer the same advantages to girls as to boys. Boone in his *History of Education* remarks, "By a kind of traditionary blindness, few among the colonial fathers saw the contradiction of the most fundamental of their religious and political principles in disregarding or thwarting the intellectual life of their daughters."<sup>10</sup> Thus the educational experiment at New Harmony took advance grounds not only in the use of Pestalozzian principles but also in the proper education of the gentler sex.

Provision was also made for pupils over twelve years of age. This was called the "School for the Adults". It was a night school in which was given special training in mathematics and the useful arts with lectures on chemistry by Troost, drawing by Lesure, natural history by Thomas Say, and experimental farming by M. d' Arusmont. In Mr. Maclure we have one of our first champions of industrial education. At New Harmony he saw an opportunity to realize one of his favorite ideas and he seized vigorously the occasion and put manual training in the school. His views on this subject may be given in three statements:

1. "There should be free, equal, and universal schools to which at an early age children should be surrendered and in which they should be clothed, fed, sheltered, and educated at the public expense.

2. Every child of the productive class should be taught a trade in order that he may be self-supporting and independent.

3. Properly managed, the labor of the child at his trade in the industrial department should more than pay for his main-

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<sup>9</sup>Lockwood, *Op. cit.* p. 239.

<sup>10</sup>Boone, *Op. cit.* p. 68.

tenance and entirely relieve the public from the financial burden of supporting the schools".<sup>11</sup>

To-day we hear a great deal about vocational education and vocational guidance, but nearly one hundred years ago Mr. Maclure in the Wabash experiment was urging that each child while he was pursuing the course of study outlined above should at the same time be learning the elements of some useful trade in an industrial school. The child's preference for certain lines of work should be heeded, but in case he expresses no preference then the management should select for him that occupation for which he by nature seems to be best fitted. This industrial training was to be a real mastery of some one trade. Here we have the first trade school in the United States. The Rensselaer Institute, which ante-dated this school by a few months, was strictly a technical school. Boone, after reciting a list of manual labor organizations which followed in the wake of these pioneer ventures, adds, "Though many of these efforts to promote industry in connection with literary institutions failed, and most of the schools were closed or reorganized as academies, they served a double and worthy purpose; the function of intelligent labor was magnified and the seed sown for a more fruitful harvest. For how much of the idea of technical education in agriculture and the mechanic arts the present is indebted to these institutions cannot perhaps be determined. Enough is known to suggest that the obligation must be large".

It would not be difficult to point out many defects in the system of education at New Harmony but these do not concern us on this occasion. It is of the permanent value of this movement that I wish to speak. Here we find the first infant school established in America. This was in 1826. The first kindergarten of any kind and also the first public kindergarten in America found its home on the banks of the Wabash. Here also we find not only the first distinctively trade-school but also the first industrial school of any type to be made a part of the free public-school system. Here the two sexes had equal advantages in "free, equal, and universal schools." School government in this institution was the most humane to be found

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<sup>11</sup> Lockwood, *Op. cit.* p. 242.



anywhere, not surpassed even in the schools of the tender-hearted Pestalozzi himself. It is true that all seemed to be lost for a time, but one "cannot see, 'neath winter's field of snow, the silent harvest of the future grow". The historians of the movement assert that the after-effect of the educational experiment deserves to rank among the most important educational experiments in our country. An adventure of great consequence was the establishing of a chain of public libraries. This noble piece of work was made possible by the generous provisions of the will of Mr. Maclure. In all one hundred and sixty libraries were established on the frontier of the West. These were given at a time when there were few private and no public libraries in our country and it would be impossible to assign to the movement a significance greater than it deserves. This wise benefaction gave great impetus to intellectual development in the various communities possessing one of the Maclure libraries.

It would also be difficult to overestimate the value of the work done by that group of scientists that found congenial surroundings at New Harmony in Community days. For a time it was the greatest scientific center in America. Here was Mr. Maclure, "The Father of American Geology"; Thomas Say, "The Father of American Zoology"; Charles Alexander Lesueur, an artist and scientist of prominence; Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, whom Jordan calls "the first student of our western fishes" and "the very first teacher of natural history in the West", spent as much time at New Harmony as his nomadic habits of life would permit; Dr. Gerard Troost, a Holland geologist, a pioneer in the study of western geology; Joseph Neef, who came to take charge of the educational features of New Harmony; and the four sons of Robert Owen, all of whom were strong factors in the educational life of New Harmony.

As an illustration of the type of work done by this group of educators let me quote from Lockwood's *The New Harmony Movement* a few sentences regarding the distinguished service of Robert Dale Owen: "Robert Dale Owen was the very incarnation of the spirit of the founders of the new social order. In him both his father and William Maclure lived again, for his act was their act, made more effective by his talent. — We



find him always the earnest, effective champion of 'free, equal, and universal schools', and of wise measures for their betterment. As a member of the National Congress, he became the legislative father of the Smithsonian Institution. As a member of the legislature of (Indiana), . . . he formulated and brought to a successful passage the school-law whose enactment marks the natal day of the Indiana educational system. Robert Dale Owen was truly the legislative father of the Indiana common-school system. Through the wise legislation for which he must be credited, most of the educational principles and plans for the organization of common schools which the New Harmony group of reformers advocated, triumphed throughout the Middle West." (Op. cit. p. 290.)

Concerning the influence of the New Harmony educational experiment, Boone states that "the Pestalozzian theory found admirable exposition in the community school for both young men and young women, to whom it was more than a model school in their later teaching; it was at once an inspiration and a liberal training." (Op. cit. p—.) The men and women who caught their inspiration at New Harmony were scattered in all directions through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. They became the instructors of the pioneer youth and thus spread broadcast the educational faith of Owen, Maclure, and Pestalozzi. They carried to their new homes an enthusiasm for free public schools organized along the lines advocated by Pestalozzi. It is quite impossible to correctly estimate the influence of this movement upon the spirit, the method, and organization of the public school systems in the Ohio Valley. 309464

Not only have we found it difficult to give an adequate valuation of the educational value of the New Harmony Movement, but it has been even more difficult to give proper recognition to the influence of other foreign centers. I am also deeply conscious of the fact that many of the foreign factors have been omitted from this brief account. I trust, however, that these brief notes will serve to show something of the debt we owe to the humbler people of Europe. They have in many ways moulded the character of our people and shaped the organization of our institutions.

## PIONEER SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL MASTERS.

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BY D. C. SHILLING.

One of the most striking facts found in a study of the history of the Ohio Valley is the early appearance of the log schoolhouse. When the primitive conditions of the country, together with the everpresent danger from Indian attacks are taken into consideration, one is forced to conclude that only a sincere and abiding faith in the efficacy of popular education prompted the pioneers to make the sacrifices necessary to disseminate the rudiments of a liberal education among their children.

Another striking fact in the history of the Ohio Valley is the diversity of racial elements among the early settlers. Thus we find the sons of New England and the sons of the upland South, together with a considerable foreign element, living in close proximity, each representing ideals of its own. However, it appears that on the question of educating their children they occupied quite common ground.

The educational activities of the New England settlements have been emphasized from almost every possible viewpoint, while the intellectual attainments of the non-New England settlements have been an unexplored field until quite recently. In the educational realm as in the political the New England element did most of the literary work of the day and charges are not wanting that other settlements have suffered from unfair comparisons.

A recent writer<sup>1</sup> of Scotch-Irish extraction points out that "by means of the every busy and facile pens of the noble Puritan fathers, the belief has taken deep root in the eastern states and it is not without adherents in the west, that the preëminent position Ohio maintains as an element of the Republic is wholly due to the remarkable fecundity, mental and physical, of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hunter, W. H., In Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub. Vol. VI, p. 95 et seq.

eight families from New England who located at Marietta in 1788." He also states that until recently "no one has had the temerity to dispute in the least degree the claim that Ohio is solely the product of Puritan forethought", but recently, he says, the Scotch-Irish has come "to dispute or rather to divide the honor" with the New Englanders. "The Scotch-Irish of America have not been writers; they were only actors." He contends that Ohio history has been written only from the Massachusetts-Connecticut point of view. He suggests that there is a Pennsylvania-Virginia point of view. These sectionalistic attitudes we shall treat further on in this discussion.

#### THE PLANTING OF SCHOOLS.

One point sometimes lost sight of in a discussion of the rise of schools in the Ohio Valley is that many of the pioneers had emigrated from regions of good schools, and also that not a few of them were alumni of reputable schools in the older Atlantic states. This is applicable to the region settled by the southern uplander as well as those peopled by New Englanders. Therefore we are not surprised to learn of the very early attempts to found academies and colleges.

The earliest school in the Ohio Valley that the writer could learn of was in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, where a Mrs. Coomes taught a school in the same year that the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The year after the Revolution closed John Filson started an academy at Lexington. Other early schools in Kentucky were McAfee's Station in 1777; Boonesborough in 1779, and Lexington in 1780.<sup>3</sup> John Filson and John McKinney were pioneer teachers of Kentucky whom posterity delights to honor.

The intellectual life of the Kentucky pioneer found expression in other than purely scholastic lines. As early as December, 1787, the Kentucky Gazette announces a meeting of a Kentucky "Society for Improvement in Knowledge". At Danville

<sup>2</sup>"A number of the prominent men among the early Kentucky settlers were themselves college men and among the founders of colleges in Virginia. Lewis, *Hist. of Ed. in Ky.* p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* p. 14. The tragic death of Filson and the encounter of McKinney with the wild cat are too well known to need repeating here.

as early as 1786 there was a "Political Club" which, prior to 1790, seems to have anticipated some of the early amendments to the federal constitution.<sup>4</sup> On the status of education in the West generally, and on that of Kentucky in particular, we have the following testimony of the traveler, Michaux (F. A.), in 1802: "Throughout the western country the children are kept punctually at school; where they learn reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic. These schools are supported at the expense of the inhabitants, who send for masters as soon as the population and their circumstances will permit; in consequence of which it is very rare to find an American who does not know how to read and write". Of the more remote places, where schools were scarce, he adds that the building of schools is "the object of solicitude in every family".<sup>5</sup>

The region now included in West Virginia had few schools before the opening of the nineteenth century, one reason being the remoteness of the pioneer settlements. The time and energy of the pioneer were occupied in gaining "sustenance for themselves and their families, and in their work many difficulties and dangers had been encountered".<sup>6</sup>

The early schools in Ohio, like those in Kentucky, followed closely upon the settlement of any locality, and also like those of Kentucky, they were either adjacent to a fort, or only in settlements compact enough to render Indian attacks less liable. Accordingly, we find the first school at Marietta in a blockhouse within Campus Martius. Here during the winter of 1789-90 Major Anselm Tupper taught the first school. Dr. Hildreth states that in 1790 the officers of the Ohio Company "appointed one hundred and fifty dollars of their funds for the support of schools" at Marietta, Belpre and Waterford.<sup>7</sup> The same author speaks of the pioneer schoolmasters of Marietta as "liberally educated men,"<sup>8</sup> but after naming one teacher, he characterizes him

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<sup>4</sup> Lewis, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Thwaites, (ed.) *Early Western Travels*, Vol. III, p. 250.

<sup>6</sup> Whitehill, *Hist. of Ed. in W. Va.* p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Hildreth, *Pioneer History of Ohio*, p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 468.



as a "well educated but rather dissipated man of Quaker (sic) parentage".<sup>9</sup>

The second locality in Ohio to have schools was Columbia, now a part of Cincinnati. A school was established here by John Reiley in 1790. The following year he was joined by Francis Dunlevy, who had charge of the higher mathematics and the ancient languages, while Reiley taught the common branches.<sup>10</sup> The later career of these two men furnishes proof that at least some of the pioneer schoolmasters of southwestern Ohio were men of ability and sterling character. After Wayne's victory over the Indians, settlers were free to follow the rivers into the interior of the state; thus Mr. Dunlevy followed the pioneers up the Little Miami to a settlement called "The Island." Three years later he located in the vicinity of Lebanon, where in 1797 he conducted a large school. Here, five years before the town was laid out, Mr. Dunlevy taught the common branches, the ancient languages and higher mathematics.<sup>11</sup> The first school in Lebanon was taught by one of Dunlevy's former pupils. By 1806 there were several schools in this vicinity and by 1805 a brick school house had been erected.

Among the early schools of Cincinnati was one for young ladies "kept" by a Mrs. Williams in 1802. Three years later a boarding school was opened in a room fifteen feet square at which Major Gano was a pupil for a short time. The classics were taught by a Mr. Stewart in the first years of the nineteenth century.

A traveler, Henry B. Fearon, wrote that the teachers in Cincinnati "are New Englanders as are the schoolmasters in the Western country generally." He also tells of visits to "a poor half-starved civil schoolmaster" who had "two miserable rooms for which he pays twenty-two shillings and sixpence per month; the terms for all branches are thirteen shillings and sixpence per quarter". The master complained of great "difficulty in getting

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 335.

<sup>10</sup> McBride, *Pioneer Biography of Butler Co.*, Vol. I, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> *Schools of Ohio, 1876, Sketch of Lebanon*. This volume is not pagged as a continuous volume. It is a collection of separate sketches.



paid and also of the untameable insubordination of his scholars."<sup>12</sup>

#### LANCASTERIAN SCHOOLS.

There were several schools of the Lancasterian order in the Ohio Valley by 1820. There was one at Hillsboro, Ohio, in 1818, where Captain John McMullin, of Virginia, was hired to teach forty-eight weeks for \$600. The school opened with sixty-five pupils but soon increased to ninety. Instruction in the common branches was given here until 1823, when the school closed. A few years later an attempt to revive it failed.

The Dayton Academy, which was founded in 1807, decided to adopt the Lancasterian plan, and in 1818 employed one Gideon McMillan, "an expert", to install the system. He announced that there would be "no public examinations at particular seasons; in a Lancasterian school every day being an examination day at which all who have leisure are invited to attend." The extent to which they sought to control their pupils is seen in the following resolution of the board of trustees in 1821. Resolved: "That any scholar attending the Lancasterian school who may be found playing ball on the Sabbath, or resorting to the woods or commons on that day for sport, shall forfeit any badge of merit he may have attained and twenty-five tickets; and if the offense appears aggravated, shall be further degraded as the tutor shall think proper and necessary; and that this resolution be read in school every Friday previous to the dismissal of the scholars."<sup>13</sup>

There was agitation for a Lancasterian school in Cincinnati as early as 1812, but it was not until 1814, when a pupil of Lancaster, Edmund Harrison of Tennessee, came to Cincinnati and proposed to the Methodist Church that a school be installed. Failure to agree on all points caused a temporary division but the factions soon united and during that year raised \$9,000, to which \$3,000 was added in the spring of 1815. The Presbyterian church was offered for use as a schoolhouse on condition

<sup>12</sup> Greve, *Hist. of Cin.* Vol. I, p. Other Ohio towns having schools before 1810 are: Zanesville, 1800; Youngstown, 1802; Paddy's Run, Butler Co., 1802; Warren, 1803; Middletown, 1805; Steubenville, 1806, etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Hist. of Schools*, 1876, based on sketches of the respective cities.

that the Church be allowed to choose annually twenty-eight scholars as charity pupils. On April 17, 1815, the school opened, the enrollment reaching 420 within two weeks. This number overcrowded the church building and the school authorities had to refuse admittance to any more pupils. The interest of the people in the school is shown by the starting of a second school for "females" only during the same year.<sup>14</sup> Fearon states that in 1817 the superintendent told him that "they could not attempt to put into practice the greater part of the punishments" as provided by the founder of the system.<sup>15</sup>

#### THE RISE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

It would be unreasonable to expect that the first schools of the pioneers be free public schools. The vicissitudes of pioneer life demanded that the early educational facilities be supplied by those who had children to attend school, and that the expense to the parent be not in the proportion of his wealth to that of the community, but according to the number of pupils he sent to school. It was customary for a teacher to secure by subscription a satisfactory number of pupils—usually more than twenty—at from \$1.75 to \$2.25 each per quarter. In Kentucky teachers usually received £1 and seven shillings per quarter for each pupil, not more than one-fourth of which was paid in money. The master was obliged to accept "bear bacon, buffalo steak, jerked venison, furs, potmetal, bar iron, linsey, hackled flax, young cattle, pork, corn or whiskey" as well as tobacco—then legal tender in Kentucky.<sup>16</sup> In calculating the salaries of teachers, it must be recalled that it was the well-nigh universal custom to "board round" with the pupils, hence a school of thirty pupils at \$2.00 per quarter would net the teacher \$60.

Often a teacher would advertise in the newspaper for scholars. "The founders of new schools for the most part ad-

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati* in 1815.

<sup>15</sup> Henry B. Fearon, quoted by Greve, *Hist. of Cin.* Vol. I, p. It is not to be inferred that these were the only Lancasterian schools in the Ohio Valley. How many there were and what influence they had would be difficult to ascertain. Flint in his *Condensed Geog. & Hist. of the Western States*, Vol. II, p. 411, mentions at Lancasterian school at Wheeling.

<sup>16</sup> Lewis, *History of Higher Education in Kentucky*, p. 31.

vertise themselves from London, Paris, Philadelphia, New York or Boston, and have all performed exploits in the regions whence they came and bring the latest improvements with them.”<sup>17</sup> They selected catchy names for their schools such as Pestalozzi establishment, agricultural school, missionary school, etc., giving the name “college” to a “little subscription school in which half the pupils are abcdarians.”<sup>18</sup>

Often an elaborate contract was drawn up and signed by both parties. We reproduce one signed at Youngstown, Ohio, March 31, 1818:

“This article between the undersigned subscribers of the one part and Jabez P. Manning on the other, witnesseth: That said Manning doth on his part, engage to teach a school at the schoolhouse near the center of Youngstown for the term of one quarter; wherein he engages to teach, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar: and furthermore that the school shall be opened at 9 O’clock A. M. and closed at 4 P. M. of each day of the week (Saturday and Sunday excepted) and on Saturday to be opened at 9 and closed at 12 O’clock A. M. And we, the subscribers, on our part, individually engage to pay unto the said Manning, \$1.75 for each and every scholar we subscribed, at the end of the term; and we furthermore engage to furnish, or to bear the necessary expense of furnishing, wood and all other things necessary for the use of the school.

“Furthermore, we do engage that, unless by the 6th day of April of the present year the number of scholars subscribed amount to thirty-five, that the said Manning is in no way obligated by this article.

“Furthermore, we allow the said Manning the privilege of receiving five scholars more than are here specified.

“J. P. MANNING.”<sup>19</sup>

(Then follow subscribers names).

The clause in the Ordinance of 1787 relating to education and the early land grant of section 16 are too familiarly known to need discussion in this paper. Despite the zeal of the early

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<sup>17</sup> Flint, *Ten Years in the Valley of the Miss.* (1826), pp. 185-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Hist. Sketches of Public Schools* (1876), Youngstown sketch.

settlers, a generation was to pass before free public schools were in operation in Ohio. A writer of high authority is of the opinion that little evidence exists to prove that "the framers of the constitution of 1802 contemplated a school system to be supported by the state."<sup>20</sup> They seemed to think that the land grants were sufficient for all education from the lowest grades to the university, and until 1821 land was the basis of school legislation. In absence of laws compelling the education of the youth at the expense of the public, education in those days was voluntary and paid for by the recipients. The statute books show that as early as 1808 schools were incorporated, and that in 1817 a general act of incorporation was passed. "How generally the schools took advantage of this legislation, and how generally they remained mere private associations, it would not be easy to ascertain."<sup>21</sup>

In 1821 the first general school law was passed, but it was not written in the imperative mood. This act permitted the division of a township into districts and provided for school committees which had some powers of school taxation. The limitations of this law rendered it insufficient and in 1825 a law was enacted much broader in scope and whose provisions were mandatory.<sup>22</sup>

The inauguration of a public school system was not the accomplishment of a day. "As late as 1825 there was no public school, properly speaking, in Cincinnati, where \* \* \* public sentiment was early manifested in favor of wise legislation in support of schools."<sup>23</sup> In 1829 the total sum of money apportioned to the directors of a rural district "for the maintenance of a free school rarely exceeded \$10."<sup>24</sup> This modest sum enabled the directors to announce free school for ten days, at the end of which those who desired to continue in school must privately pay the expense incurred.

One of the earliest organizations of teachers was the "College of Teachers" at Cincinnati in 1831. It was the ardent

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<sup>20</sup> Hinsdale, in *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub.* Vol. VI, p. 38.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Education in Ohio*, by Harvey and White, p. 95.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



champion of better teachers, better school laws and a state superintendent of schools.<sup>25</sup> In the language of a contemporary publication, "the College of Professional Teachers is one of the most important literary institutions in the West and certainly deserves to be encouraged and sustained by all the friends of education. \* \* \* It is the design of the Association of Teachers to elicit and diffuse truth in relation to the various branches of education, and to introduce and promote a more just and rational system of instruction by concentrating the information and experience of those who have been engaged in literary pursuits."<sup>26</sup>

By the middle thirties considerable progress had been made in the public school system, especially in Cincinnati. In 1835, there were in that city about 5500 youths between six and sixteen years of age, of whom 3300 were attending school, and of the non-attendants over half were more than twelve years old.<sup>27</sup> The pupils were housed "in thirty spacious apartments of 36x38 feet each," and under the care of 43 teachers whose salaries aggregated \$14,000.<sup>28</sup> Parades of school children were used as a means to arouse interest in education. On July 4, 1833, nearly 2,000 children joined in a parade. A few of the teachers refused to march and were dismissed for obstinacy.<sup>29</sup> The parade at the opening of school in 1835 received praise from Harriet Martineau, who was a witness on the occasion.<sup>30</sup>

The friends of education in Ohio were jubilant when Samuel Lewis was made the first superintendent of common schools in the state in 1837. Data in his first annual report give us a

<sup>25</sup> Harvey and White, *Education in Ohio*, p. 96.

<sup>24</sup> *Millennial Harbinger*, VI, p. 605.

<sup>27</sup> *Seventh Annual Report of the Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools to the City Council of Cincinnati*, 1836, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Cincinnati Report*, p. 9. The teaching staff consisted of:

14 male principals @ \$500 per year.....	\$7,000
10 male assistants @ \$300 per year.....	3,000
4 female principals @ \$250 per year.....	1,000
15 female assistants @ \$200 per year.....	3,000
43	\$14,000

<sup>29</sup> Greve, *History of Cincinnati*, I, p. 618.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* p. 619.



rather clear idea of the educational affairs of the state at that time.

There were 4,336 public and 2,175 private schools in the state, employing 8,962 teachers, who received \$435,000 annually for their services. The whole number of youths in the state between the ages of four and twenty-one years was slightly less than a half million, of whom approximately thirty per cent were in school from two to six months of the year. Of the number in school more than forty-two per cent were in attendance over four months of the year.<sup>31</sup>

Mr. Lewis's report showed that there were 7748 districts in the state, 3370 of which were without school houses. He pointed out that this want was strongest in the towns and villages. "Some places containing from 500 to 600 inhabitants, have no common school houses."<sup>32</sup> The buildings that were used were, in many cases, of little value, the lowest was valued at \$10 and the highest at \$5,500, "about one-third are worth less than \$50."<sup>33</sup>

Flint, writing in 1828, says that common schools "are established in a greater or less degree of perfection in every township of any consequence in the state. \* \* \* In some few instances settlements have been found insensible to the value and importance of free common schools."<sup>34</sup>

Graded schools made their appearance in 1840, Cincinnati being the first to adopt a course of study. At the close of the period of which we write there were but four graded schools in Ohio, viz.: Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus and Dayton.<sup>35</sup>

#### THE PIONEER SCHOOL HOUSE.

From Pittsburgh to Louisville one style of school architecture existed in the early days—the log cabin. Occasionally this structure was constructed of hewn logs, but more often of

<sup>31</sup> First Annual Report of the Supt. of Common Schools in Ohio, for the year ending 1837, computed from tables opposite page 44.

<sup>32</sup> First Annual Report of the Supt. of Common Schools in Ohio, for the year ending 1837, p. 32.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 46.

<sup>34</sup> Flint, Condensed Geog. and Hist. of the Western States of the Miss. Valley, 1828, II, p. 346.

<sup>35</sup> Education in Ohio, p. 109 gives the first course of study in Ohio.

logs just as they came from the tree. Its dimensions were usually 18 x 24 feet or sometimes twenty feet square, with eaves eight to ten feet above the ground. The spaces between the logs were filled with small strips of wood and "chinked" with clay. Windows were secured in one of two ways: either omit a row of logs, save of course, the cross-ends, or saw down through three or four layers of logs. In the former case a horizontal slit-like window would be obtained; in the latter a perpendicular window would be the result. In either case rude frames were inserted, into which, in rare cases, glass was placed, but more frequently the light was admitted through greased paper.

The door was made of thick, rough boards hung on wooden hinges and fastened by the aid of a latch of the same material. Locking and unlocking were accomplished by means of a "latch-string." Tardy pupils seeing no "latch-string" knew that the master was "at prayers" and had to remain outside until it reappeared, disregarding both the condition of the weather and the length of the prayer. The roof was of clapboards, held in place by means of long heavy poles running at right angles with the tiers of clapboards. The heating plant consisted of a huge, open fireplace, lined with rough stones and connecting with a chimney made of logs standing upright and lined with clay mortar. In some of the pioneer schools Mother Earth served for a floor. One of the early schools at Zanesville was built over a stump which served very conveniently for the "dunce block." In most cases, however, "puncheon" floors were used.

The school furniture was as primitive as the building itself. The seats were made of logs split in two with the flat side up and supported by four to six pins or "legs." These "solid if not comfortable" seats were of different heights, the lower ones being in the front of the room for the smaller children, yet they were often too high to permit the feet of the occupant to touch the floor. The larger pupils were seated on the higher benches placed around three sides of the room. Some schools were extravagant enough to have desks. These were made of rude planks supported by long pins, and had no support for the back.

In the above description the writer has held to general characteristics. He is fully aware that in some localities, espe-

cially in towns, a much better building could be found; e. g., a brick building was erected at Lebanon in 1805 and frame buildings had made their appearance in a few communities soon after 1800. Yet the vast majority of the pioneer schoolhouses were of rude construction. "Cabins originally occupied as places of residence when abandoned by their owners for better homes, were often made over to the public for the accommodation of the schoolkeeper and the school he kept, any hut or hovel was considered available for educational purposes."<sup>36</sup>

#### THE PIONEER SCHOOLMASTER.

Many generalizations on the character and fitness of the pioneer schoolmaster already exist, but their contradictions render it exceedingly difficult to truthfully portray the pioneer teacher of a century ago. In the first place it is manifestly unfair to judge the morals of that age by the standards of today; it is also unfair to dwell on the intemperance, etc., of the schoolmaster without informing us that drinking was an almost universal custom on the frontier, and that lawyers, doctors, politicians and other people partook freely of the "liquid hospitality" of the day. The writer offers no apology for the drunken, trifling teacher, but in the spirit of fairness insists that he must be judged by the moral standards of his day, and that his character and fitness be squared alongside that of men of other walks of life.

Some writers insist that the teachers of the New England settlements in the Ohio region were distinctly superior to those found in communities settled by non-New England stock. This sectionalistic attitude is so apparent that one should know the

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<sup>36</sup> This quotation is from Venable, p. 187.

My authorities for the above descriptions are Harvey & White. Education in Ohio, 1876.

Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub. VI, Article on Pathfinders of Jefferson Co.

Report of Samuel Lewis, first Supt. of Common Schools in Ohio  
Lewis, A. F., History of Higher Education, Kentucky.

Whitehill, A. R., History of Higher Education in West Virginia  
Historical Sketches of Public Schools (Ohio).

antecedents of a writer to rightly estimate the fairness of his characterizations.

This sectional characterization has been done so thoroughly by Dr. J. J. Burns that we here quote him at considerable length. "The teachers of the pioneer schools in southwestern Ohio were selected more on account of their unfitness to perform manual labor than by reason of their intellectual worth. The few schools established in this section were taught by cripples, worn out old men, and women physically unable to scotch hemp and spin flax, or constitutionally opposed to the exercises. Educational sentiment was at low ebb, and demanded from the instructors of children no higher qualifications than could be furnished by the merest tyro. Before school legislation and other instrumentalities effected salutary changes in the methods of school administration common to this locality, schools of worth were to be found only in the more populous centers. The estimation in which the teacher was held by the community at large was not such as to induce any young man or woman of spirit and worth to enter upon teaching as a vocation.

"The teacher was regarded as a kind of pensioner on the bounty of the people, whose presence was tolerated only because county infirmaries were not then in existence. The capacity of the teacher to teach was never a reason for employing him, but the fact that he could do nothing else. Under such circumstances, it would be vain to look for superior qualifications on the part of the teacher. The people's demand for education was fully met when their children could write a tolerably legible hand, when they could read the Bible, or an almanac and when they were so far inducted into the mysterious computation of numbers as to be able to determine the value of a load of farm produce.

"A brighter picture presents itself when we consider the state of educational sentiment in that section of Ohio peopled with settlers from New England. They were not oblivious to the value of education in a utilitarian sense, but their notions of utility were broader and more comprehensive than those entertained by their southern neighbors.

"The social status of the teacher was on equal footing with that of the physician and minister. Society welcomed him to its



presence as an honored member. His periodic visits to the homes of his pupils were regarded as quite an event by each household, and great were the preparations that preceded his appearance.

\* \* \* Many an inspiring youth was led into new fields of thought by coming into personal contact with the master of the home circle; and the seeds of knowledge planted by the faithful teacher around the fireside of the pioneer often sprung up into rigorous life."<sup>37</sup>

The predominance of the Irish and Scotch-Irish teachers, who in many cases were intemperate in the use of whisky, and whose knowledge was somewhat limited, has led some to conclude that the teachers in the non-New England regions of the Ohio Valley were of little consequence mentally and of still less morally. Some of the early travelers have helped to give this impression. Coming in a trip down the Ohio one observed a teacher in Adams County, Ohio, whom he characterized as "an Irish looking old man with silver grey locks and barefooted, his whole appearance and that of the cabin which was the school indicating but little encouragement for the disseminating of instruction."<sup>38</sup>

What has already been referred to as the Massachusetts-Connecticut *versus* the Pennsylvania-Virginia viewpoints of Ohio history is nowhere more patent than in discussions on early educators in the Ohio Valley. A southwestern Ohio writer gives an entirely different impression of the teacher of his section: "Among the pioneer settlers the primitive schoolmaster was looked upon as a prodigy of knowledge and in all misunderstandings between him and the scholars, they always sided with the master, who was generally superstitious, \* \* \* but in general he was a scholar according to the books"; then he adds "but he knew little or nothing about human nature."<sup>39</sup> High

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<sup>37</sup> Burns, J. J., *Educational History of Ohio* (1905), pp. 21-22. There is a striking resemblance between this description and that of White & Harvey, *Education in Ohio*, 1876, pp. 86-87. In fact some of the paragraphs are identical save perhaps the omission of a phrase or occasionally a sentence. No quotation marks are used and no reference to the earlier work is made.

<sup>38</sup> Cuming, *Tour to the West*, (Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, IV, p. 213).

<sup>39</sup> *Historical Sketches of Public Schools*, 1876, article on Preble Co. by A. Haines.



praise is given the teacher of southern Ohio by W. H. Hunter in his "Pioneers of Jefferson County." He especially appears as protagonist of the cause of the Irish and Scotch-Irish schoolmasters. He speaks of them as worthy men of letters, "who had a standing in the community next to the minister himself."<sup>40</sup> Venable speaks of them as "worthless men, impecunious, and addicted to the use of the pipe and the bottle. \* \* \* The drinking habit appears to have been a pedagogical qualification exceedingly prevalent."<sup>41</sup> Occasionally a teacher would win the large boys by sharing with them his pipe or jug. E. D. Mansfield tells us that one of his teachers made the pupils "half-tipsy" with "cherry bounce."

On the other hand, it has been stated that prior to the rise of highly organized town and city school systems "it was not uncommon to see a teacher of liberal culture in charge of a country school. The pioneer teacher was often the graduate of a good college."<sup>42</sup> Mr. Lewis, the first superintendent of common schools in Ohio, gave as his opinion that "the most general defect (among teachers) is want of learning and energy." He added that poor teachers often hindered educational progress. His remedy was to increase the salary so as to induce men of worth to enter upon teaching as a profession.<sup>43</sup>

That there were unlearned, intemperate, improvident teachers in the early day is amply and fully proven by the evidence. On the other hand, it is just as conclusively proven that among the pioneer teachers were giants in intellectual and moral strength. Call the roll of Reiley, Dunlevy, Glass, Filson, the Picket brothers, Daniel Rice and many others. The very honorable careers of Reiley and Dunlevy in political life after they had given up teaching show them to have been men of sterling qualities.

Education received considerable attention in the pioneer days of Kentucky; many of the pioneers were "college men and among the founders of colleges in Virginia;" hence we are not surprised to learn of the founding of Transylvania University

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<sup>40</sup>Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub. VI, p. 246.

<sup>41</sup>Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, p. 191.

<sup>42</sup>Education in Ohio, p. 101.

<sup>43</sup>First report of Supt. of Common Schools, p. 10.

during the period immediately following the Revolution. Some of the pioneer masters in Kentucky "were men of high standing" who taught two to four months of the year, following the occupation of a surveyor the remainder of the year. Many of them were unfit for teaching. Often the main qualifications of a teacher were that "he did not know how, or did not care, or did not have the energy to do anything else, having probably failed in every thing else he had undertaken, or he was some stranger, a traveling Irishman or Englishman, or a wandering Yankee whose qualifications for the place were presumed from the fact that he had seen a good deal of the world."<sup>44</sup>

Much may be said derogatory of the pioneer school and schoolmaster, but the fact remains that with all of their shortcomings they were productive of much good. When all of the disadvantages and hardships of pioneer life are taken into consideration, one is apt to conclude that they "were the best that pioneer circumstances would allow. They gave the boys and girls a start in life. The children learned to read, write and cypher [sic] in practical ways."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Lewis, *History of Higher Education in Kentucky*, p. 31.

<sup>45</sup> Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, p. 195.



## THE RISE OF THE DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGE.

BY RUSSELL M. STOREY.

Of all the groups that had their part in the early educational life of the Ohio Valley none more completely ran the gamut of pioneer experiences than the founders and builders of the denominational colleges. They were hewers of wood and drawers of water; in their persons they combined the functions of builder, janitor, teacher, business manager, and president, together with whatever other odds and ends presented themselves for attention. It was a time and a country in which individual vision and initiative seized the opportunities and met the needs for which denominational policy was unprepared or incapable of supplying. In the rise of the denominational college, therefore, no more potent factors existed than the personalities in whose thought they were conceived and in whose activities they were realized.

The scope of denominational activity in the founding of collegiate institutions is realized more fully when the discovery is made that almost ninety per cent of the institutions founded before 1840 and which survive to the present time had their origin in or were connected with some denomination. Practically all institutions, whether of state or denominational origin, had back of them the influence of some minister of the gospel. From the valley of the Tennessee to the Great Lakes and from the crest of the Alleghenies to the Mississippi denominational colleges were planted.

The Presbyterians were the most active in the making of collegiate history in the early days of the Ohio valley. There was scarcely an institution, even those of distinctly non-denominational origin, that did not feel the impress of their power and influence. Of the denominational colleges founded in the Ohio valley before 1840, nine of them had their origin in the wisdom and energy of those who subscribed to the Presbyterian faith and in all cases except one, that of Transylvania, the Presbyterians maintained their control throughout this period. The

other institutions just indicated were Washington, Jefferson, Centre, Maryville, Illinois, Western Reserve, Hanover and Knox.

The causes for the founding of these institutions by the Presbyterians vary somewhat in each case, but one motive appears to have been common to all, viz., provision for a denominational ministry. In the cases of Transylvania, Maryville, Illinois, Western Reserve and Hanover the theological seminary either preceded or became an active factor in the development of the college. Washington and Jefferson grew out of academies, while Centre was the result of losing control of Transylvania.

The period before 1824 seems to have been a time either of slow development or of practical stagnation in the careers of these Presbyterian institutions. The lack of funds, quarrels and squabbles between colleges and in presbyteries and synods and the absence of any adequate and organized denominational policy on the part of the denomination in this country as a whole, all served to make this a period in which progress was difficult to achieve, and almost as hard to maintain. Still, all of the institutions founded by the Presbyterians during the first quarter of the 19th century had attained to collegiate standing by 1824 and in this respect were rivalled only by institutions of state origin such as Ohio and Miami Universities. The years 1824 and 1825 mark the opening of a better era in the history of denominational education and into such blessing the early Presbyterian colleges were well prepared to enter.

This pioneering in the realms of higher education brought to the front some very remarkable characters. The Rev. James Moore, a Presbyterian divine from Virginia, proved to Transylvania his vision and his constructive ability until he resigned the presidency in 1804. The years following, until 1817, when the Presbyterians lost control of Transylvania, were not characterized by large achievement. In 1818 the Rev. Horace Holley, LL. D., led the movement for collegiate expansion, and by 1827 had made Transylvania the leading institution in the West south of the Mason and Dixon line. The choice of Dr. Holley at Transylvania and the initiation by him of more liberal and broadminded policies led to disaffection which soon expressed itself in the founding of Centre by the Presbyterians, Cumber-



land by the Cumberland Presbyterians, Augusta by the Methodists and Georgetown by the Baptists.

In the founding of Washington and Jefferson colleges three characters appear. The Dr. John McMillan is prominent among his brothers in the development of Cannonsburg Academy, out of which grew Jefferson College; he was a man of large ability, scholarship and an enthusiastic purpose to seek out and educate young men for the Christian ministry. Under him was developed the material which later maintained Jefferson College during its infancy and during the intense contest with Washington College in 1806, and which from rivalry soon developed into a state that was called the "college war." In the organization of Washington Academy also Dr. McMillan participated and with him was the second of the trio above named, Rev. Joseph Smith, likewise a Presbyterian, a man of culture and scholarship, and whose work gave strength and vigor to the character of the institution until his death in 1792. In the founding of Washington Academy the Presbyterians were aided by Rev. John Clark, an associate Presbyterian, and the Rev. John Corbly, a Baptist. Another active factor in the founding of this institution was the Rev. Matthew Brown, who became pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in Washington in 1805, principal of the Washington Academy in the same year and under whom in 1821 Jefferson College entered upon an expansive era, continuing through his presidency, which closed in 1845. Says one of his biographers: "No one man did more for the cause of Christian education in the Ohio Valley than did Dr. Matthew Brown."

The list of great names on the Presbyterian roll of this period would be incomplete without the name of one of the group of college founders in Eastern Tennessee. The Rev. Thomas Craighead founded Davidson Academy in 1786, which later grew into the University of Nashville; Rev. Samuel Doak, one of the claimants to the honor of being the pioneer educator of the Middle West, chartered Martin Academy in 1783 and Washington (Tenn.) College in 1795. But the name which stands preeminent in the history of education in Eastern Tennessee before 1840 is that of Dr. Isaac Anderson, the founder of Maryville Seminary in 1819, the college department being added in 1821. The labors



of this man appear almost superhuman both in their scope and intensity.

With the exception of Transylvania the heyday of the denominational college before 1840 does not seem to open before 1824. In that year Bishop Philander Chase, who had had previous and uncongenial experience in the presidency of Cincinnati College, returned from a mission to England, the object of which had been to raise funds for an institution in accordance with his own ideals. He had succeeded in interesting Lord Gambier and other Englishmen and returned with more than \$30,000, and the history of Kenyon, the first Episcopal institution of the Ohio Valley, began. The primary object of Bishop Chase had been to prepare men for the ministry and hence the Theological Seminary first opened its doors, the college department following, however, very shortly after, graduating its first A. B. group in 1829. The name Kenyon was not assumed until 1891 and commemorates the name of Lord Kenyon, who, with Lord Gambier, was one of the chief donors to the initial funds with which the institution was to be opened.

Up to the founding of Kenyon, collegiate education of a denominational character had been largely in the hands of the Presbyterians. From this time on to 1840, however, there is widespread activity among other denominations. Under the leadership of Rev. John M. Peck, D. D., the Baptists in 1827 founded what later became Shurtleff College near Alton, Ill., following this up by opening up Georgetown College at Georgetown, Ky., in 1829, and Denison University in 1831. In this activity the names of Dr. Peck, the founder of Shurtleff, and of Rev. Rockwood Giddings, the builder, though not the founder of Georgetown, stand out preeminent. The Denison University was the work of the Ohio Baptist Educational Society.

The Methodists had commenced their activities along educational lines with the founding of Allegheny College at Meadville, Penn., in 1815. Thirteen years later the Rev. Peter Cartwright inspired the founding of McKendree College at Lebanon, Ill., and in 1832 Asbury College, now a part of DePauw University, opened its doors under the guidance of the Methodist church.

The energy of the Presbyterian denominations did not abate with the entrance of other denominations into the field of higher education. In conjunction with the Congregationalists, Western Reserve College began its career in 1826 and under the presidency of the Rev. George E. Pierce, beginning in 1830, forged rapidly into prominence. These two denominations again combined their energies in the early history of Knox College, which was founded in 1837 at Galesburg, Ill. In the meantime the Rev. John M. Ellis, assisted by a band of seven men from Yale, had in 1829 laid the foundations of Illinois College at Jacksonville, Ill., and the Presbytery of Indiana was rewarded for its efforts by the chartering of Hanover College in 1833. The year 1837 inaugurates the beginning of Muskingum College under auspices which later came to be United Presbyterian.

Catholic education enterprises seem to have worked from west to east in the region of the Ohio Valley. What is now St. Louis University was founded in 1818, followed in 1821 by the opening of St. Mary's College at St. Mary, Ky., and by the creation of St. Xavier under the direction of Rev. E. D. Fenwick, Bishop of Cincinnati, in 1831.

Most of the denominational institutions which thus came into being before 1840 enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity and growth during that period of their history which was comprised within the years 1824 to 1840. Many of them suffered serious setbacks in the wake of the panic which swept the country during Van Buren's administration. But the hardships incident to the pioneer days of the latter part of the 18th and the opening years of the 19th centuries were no longer present. Transylvania, Washington, Jefferson, Maryville, Kenyon, Georgetown, St. Xavier and Hanover all experienced a period of depression during the fourth decade of the 19th century but the other institutions seem to have developed and grown steadily, though in most cases slowly. And in all cases the depression seems to have been temporary in character and in many cases was not felt after 1840.

The financial history of the group of denominational colleges whose careers have been thus briefly reviewed is indicated in the expression "a hand to mouth" existence. In Transyl-

vania, Jefferson, Centre, Kenyon, and Georgetown a productive endowment was well started by 1840; in some of the other institutions, Western Reserve in particular, movements toward endowment were either just being inaugurated or seriously contemplated. There was an utter absence of any adequate denominational policy looking toward the maintenance of collegiate institutions except as denominational loyalty and interest found expression in private gifts and donations for the benefit of the annual budgets.

In reviewing the causes which led to the Rise of the Denominational College one cannot fail to be impressed with the part played by the missionary spirit. In over sixty per cent of the institutions the founders were actuated primarily by the desire to establish facilities for the education and preparation of a Christian ministry that was to further denominational and Christian propaganda and to give them stability and permanence. Coupled closely with this was the initiative and enterprise of the men who thus pioneered in the educational life of the Ohio Valley. Denominational policy and loyalty actuated some; denominational rivalry seems to have been present now and then; while disaffection with existing institutions and the lack of collegiate educational facilities were motive forces in many instances.

The curriculum in these denominational colleges was always broader than the number of the teaching force would indicate. The Bible, and works on Christian philosophy and practice were always prominent; but the cultural courses in the arts and sciences formed the body of the work done. The methods of instruction consisted of the text book and recitation with what additional exposition the instructor was able or had time to offer. The teachers taught almost continuously, even the presidents having a very large part of the responsibility for instruction resting upon them. By far the larger proportion of the instructors were ministers of the gospel, and in colleges where both collegiate and seminary functions were combined, they gave instruction to both classes of students.

The Christian church of the Middle West, and the cause of higher education throughout this nation, both are obligated in perpetuity to the founders and builders of the denominational insti-

tutions which originated in the region of the Ohio Valley before 1840. From the first sectarianism was subordinated to larger Christian policy except in isolated instances, and this Christian character of higher education has been generally preserved even in those institutions which have freed themselves from that denominational control which existed in their early history.



## LAND GRANTS FOR EDUCATION IN THE OHIO VALLEY STATES.

BY CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF.

In the discussion of the subject at hand I find I am confronted with three very positive limitations. First, because the story of land grants for education is one that even the most investigating historian can find but little new general material upon which to write. Second, the program committee has wisely limited the time in which the subject may be presented. However laudable this restriction may be in the interests of the audience, there is a constant feeling on the part of the writer that he has to confine himself to certain lines and consequently many pertinent facts and observations must be omitted. Third, this being an organization for the Ohio Valley it has been thought best to speak only of those educational land grants made in the six Ohio Valley states — Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky.

The lands granted for educational support by the government are in themselves an admission that education is one of the functions of the state. When these donations were made in the Ohio Valley it was not a new idea. It was as old as history itself. Aristotle recognized it and Plato dreamed it into his Republic and Laws. To the careful student of history there is nothing so evident as the fact of education's being a function of the state. It has from the earliest periods of written history been so regarded. Nor is it seen alone in the theories of philosophers and men who had visionary ideas on the subject. The actions of emperors and kings who might be thought the least likely to encourage schools and the means of education, are concrete evidences of this inherent duty of a state toward its citizens. Whether the government has been democratic like Athens, imperial like Rome, royal like France or constitutional like England, the necessity for the fostering care of the state has ever been recognized.



We see this theory manifested in the princes who grant pensions to the man of letters. Look at the educational centers of Athens, Alexandria, Rome, Bologna, Paris, Pisa, Salamanca, Oxford, Wittenberg, Leyden and Berlin, and ask why the government aided them. Ask the libraries of Assyria, Egypt, the Vatican, London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg the reason they received government support. We find it in the rude ideals of the Spartans and the spiritualistic beliefs of the Hebrews. Rome stood for it, both as republic and empire. Charlemagne, the most unique character in medieval history, founded a system of free schools. The Arabian Caliph Alhakim established schools in every village. The first "state university" began its existence in 1224 in Naples under the patronage of Frederick II. Oxford was chartered by King John. The Protestant Revolution emphasized the idea. Out of the Reformation came a growth toward a religious democracy, giving impetus to the development of free institutions, and along with this came the call for the education of the masses by the state.

From Luther in Germany, Calvin in Geneva, John Knox in Scotland and Milton in England, the common-school system derived its life and became the common heritage of the Anglo-Saxon people. Gustavus Adolphus was its patron. As early as 1583, Zealand began its system of state education. Holland for years led the van for public instruction at the hands of the state. Motley, in his celebrated history of that country, tells how John of Nassau urged upon the States General the establishment of free common schools. In France we find the same ideas advanced from time to time. The year 1560 witnessed in this country a petition to the king for the cause of popular education. French educationists, including Helvetius, La Chalotais, Voltaire, Turgot, Diderot, Compayre, and the pedagogists of the eighteenth century voice the same doctrine.

"Instances of old ideas clustering about this common sovereignty and universal education might be cited indefinitely."

We are the heirs of all the ages. The founders of the colonies were men of high ideals. They planted upon American soil the principles for which the dreamer, the idealist, the reformer, the great minds of all times had stood. European tra-

ditions and the forces of medieval institutions prevented the fruition beyond the seas. American soil was lying fallow and in the language of Horace Mann, "The transference of the fortunes of our race from the old to the new world was a gain to humanity of a thousand years."

With such an array of evidence confronting the colonists of America it is easily seen how the founders of the states followed in the line of what had been the theory and practice of the progressive peoples of Europe. Of the first six hundred who landed in Massachusetts, one in thirty is said to have been a graduate from an European university. In New England the town meeting was ever dominant in matters pertaining to the common weal. It would naturally be thought that here education would be altogether in the hands of the local authorities. But not so, for already in 1642 the legislative body of Massachusetts began legislation for the education of all, under colonial and state control. There is abundance of evidence to be presented to justify this position of the colonial fathers. We see it in Massachusetts; we find it in Virginia; it is voiced in Pennsylvania; New York recognizes it; Hamilton and Jefferson each had schemes of general education, which have left their impress upon New York and the Central West.

This culmination of the world's ideas concerning education in America is happily expressed by Dr. E. E. White: "With matchless wisdom they (the fathers) joined liberty and learning in a perpetual and holy alliance, binding the latter to bless every child with instruction which the former invests with the rights and duties of citizenship. They made education and sovereignty coextensive, by making both universal."

The founders of our commonwealth had an abundance of precedents to guide them. It was not a new theory emanating from visionary brains. These men were careful students of the theory of government. They well recognized and appreciated the relations existing between a state and the means of education.

As there were many precedents for the founders to exercise and provide for the future paternalism of the state toward the schools, so it was not a new theory either that they should manifest their paternalism in land bounties.

It is true that they were not giving much, for land was cheap; but it had the element of permanency in it. Throughout the colonial history of this nation we find numerous cases of land endowment for educational uses. Beginning with 1619 we find it in Virginia; in 1653, in Boston; in 1636, in Charlestown, Mass.; 1639, Dorchester, Mass.; 1640, Rhode Island; 1641, Massachusetts; 1651, Ipswich, Mass.; 1663, Providence; 1665, Hadley, Mass.; 1671, Connecticut; 1683, Delaware; 1686, Pennsylvania; 1690, Virginia; 1700, Connecticut; 1723, Maryland; 1753, Wyoming Valley, Pa.; 1754, New York; 1763, New Hampshire; 1777, Georgia; 1780, Virginia; 1783, Georgia; 1783, Pennsylvania; 1784, New York; 1785, Vermont; 1787, Pennsylvania.

In the latter state William Penn had said: "That which makes a good constitution must keep it, namely, men of wisdom and virtue. These great qualities must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which spare no cost, for by such parsimony all that is saved is lost."

This teaching has certainly borne fruit. Wherever the Quakers have formed settlements they have always taxed themselves liberally for the support of public education.

The twelfth article of the frame of government to the colony of Pennsylvania grants: "That the governor and provincial council shall erect and order all public schools."

The Pennsylvania Constitution adopted in 1776 is the earliest constitutional provision among the states for the maintenance of a university.

Article 44 of the Pennsylvania Constitution declares: A school or schools shall be established by the legislature in each county for the convenient instruction of youth, etc.

The Wyoming Valley, in Pennsylvania, is well known to every schoolboy and schoolgirl as the scene of some of the most harassing events in the Revolutionary War. Here occurred one of the worst Indian massacres in our history. This land was settled by the Connecticut people and it was claimed by both that state and Pennsylvania owing to the overlapping of territorial grants.

Under the direction of the Susquehanna Land Company 600 citizens from Wyndham County, Connecticut, established them-

selves in this fertile valley. Here, true to the Connecticut habit, they appropriated 900 acres to each township for the support of schools, and organized education with a near approach to the present school system. This local arrangement continued until the establishment of the present organization was effected in 1834.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps it is well to note in passing that the University of Pennsylvania in its earliest days received from the Proprietary Government of Thomas Penn 7500 acres of land in Berks county.

In 1779 the legislature granted certain escheated lands to the college valued at £25,000.

Franklin College, Pennsylvania, received with its charter a grant of 10,000 acres of land in the western part of the state.

That the founders of the republic projected nothing new or untried in their plan of government has long ago been conceded by the most casual student of history. The idea that they were a set of men inspired does not now obtain. There is very little that is novel or unproved in the Constitution of the United States. Nearly every provision there had some precedent in some of the colonies. These men were careful students of history. The colonies for a hundred years had evolved by experience certain plans and ideals. While the mother country was trying to straighten out her kings; while absorbed in the days of the Stuarts, Cromwell and the English Revolution; while engaged in the series of wars between herself and her rival, France, culminating in the battle of Quebec, — the colonies had time to grow because there had been but little interference from beyond the sea. This century and more of experience, reaching down to the period of constructive statesmanship, the men who were to organize our government had to draw from. They were not visionary theorists but practical men of affairs and their chief duty was to construct from these experiences.

From what has been already adduced it ought to be quite evident now that among these experiences that became a part of the assets of the fathers was the idea that education is the business of the state. With this came its corollary that if educa-

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<sup>1</sup> Com. of Ed. 1896-97, p. 668.



tion is the business of the state, the state should support it. The nature of this support was never hard to determine. It would be the resultant of two forces—that which was easy for the state to give and that which would have a degree of permanency. Here in the United States land fulfilled both conditions. So these two ideas, education by the state and land grants for education, were among the bequests that colonial history gave to the fathers.

That these ideas were prevalent in the decade following the Declaration of Independence, has already been shown. The attitude of the statesmen of the time assumed without question the power of the state in providing the means of education. The roll of men who took advanced ground is a list of notables, for it contains such names as Washington, Madison, Franklin, Dane, King and others. The constitutions formed as the colonies emerged into states recognized this vested right and duty of government.

It is not our purpose to review the governmental conditions obtaining in this period. Everything was in almost a state of chaos. It was a conflict between sovereign states on one hand and a weak, anaemic government, trying to be sovereign, on the other. Finally the western land-holding states ceded their claims, for that is about all they possessed, to the general government for the common good. This cession, with the campaigns of Continental soldiers, the victory of American diplomacy at Paris in 1783, and various, treaties with the Indians, whereby their titles to these lands were extinguished, gave the central government the only domain over which its rule was absolute.

Out of this condition came the interest and activity concerning the western country. There was an abundance of land yet in the colonies. The Ohio Valley was not open to settlement because of the demand for homes. The very weakness of the government drove it into the western real-estate business. It owed a war debt. Continental soldiers of the line were still unpaid and the government could not pay them, for it had no power to collect taxes from sovereign states. But it had land in plenty that could be sold or given in lieu of money. On September 5, 1782, a proposition came before Congress that the



money accruing from such lands as might be sold should be used to pay the states' debts, whereupon Mr. Witherspoon injected the mustard seed of nationality into the virgin soil of our institutions by securing as a substitution for "states' debts" the words "national debts."

Colonel Timothy Pickering was quartermaster general of the American army. In view of the promises of lands made several times by the Continental Congress to the soldiers of the Revolution, Colonel Pickering early in 1783 outlined a plan for the formation of a new state west of the Ohio river. After stipulating the amount of lands various soldiers should receive, according to rank and service, and providing for the organization of a government and other matters pertaining to it, he directed that "all the surplus lands shall be the common property of the state and disposed of for the common good." Among the things considered as being for the "common good" was "establishing schools and academies."

This paper was given to General Rufus Putnam, who secured 288 officers of the Continental line as petitioners. General Putnam forwarded it to General Washington and asked him for his influence in securing its passage by Congress. General Washington transmitted it as requested and strongly recommended it. This was on June 17, 1783. Congress paid no heed to the petition.

The next attempt looking toward the settlement of the Northwest was the ordinance of 1784, reported by a committee of which Jefferson was chairman. Nothing was said here about lands for schools and it seems strange, too. The report was not in keeping with Jefferson's record in matters concerning education.

The land ordinance of 1785 marks the initial step in land endowments by the United States. The committee selected represented twelve of the thirteen states. Rufus King of Massachusetts seems to have been the master spirit in shaping and pushing to a successful issue the ordinance. But it is to Timothy Pickering, whose correspondence with Rufus King reveals his attitude, that we are indebted for the plan of reserving a certain part of the land as a perpetual endowment for public education.

The different steps taken in Committee and on the floor of Congress by which the educational clause became a part of the Land Ordinance of May 20, 1785, interesting though it be, cannot be considered here. But the words "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township," was the leaven committing the government to a liberal patronage of education. This was our first Congress land and here the United States Government originated the American Land system, whose leading principles are still followed. In the language of Mr. Hinsdale, "The dedication to the support of public schools of lot No. 16 in every township was a far-reaching act of statesmanship that is of perpetual interest. It was the first and greatest of the long series of similar dedications made by Congress to education; and the funds derived from the sale of these original 'school lands' are the bulk of the common-school endowments of the five great states of the Old Northwest."

It is not the purpose here to detract any from the meed or merit due the fathers for this act of statecraft. But it must also be remembered that these *fathers*, while they were astute students of the precedents in history, while they were "*far-seeing*," they were also intensely practical, utilitarian, sort of folks who were quite as much interested in the present as in the future. They had an eye to business as well as to culture. The Government was in the real-estate trade. To facilitate sales, the land was put up with a prize in each package. Every inducement for ready purchase was freely given. The same principle animating land companies and railroads today, in exploiting the advantages of a section, to where they are running Home-Seekers' Excursions, on the first and third Tuesdays of each month, was the dominant passion even then. There was no difference, essentially, between the granting of lands for education and religion than there was of reserving the salt springs for all the people.

It may be sacrilege here to say it, but it needs no stretch of the imagination and no straining at the leashes of the truth, to perceive Manasseh Cutler, "The Father of the Ohio University," when he played that magnificent game of bluff, by preparing to

leave when the Board of Treasury hesitated to give him the two townships of land for "an university," was as much interested in securing that institution to use as an advertisement for the sale of his lands as it was for the education of the youth.

The pamphlet issued by the odious Scioto Company, to further its abortive intention of settling, but highly successful method of selling, its lands, expresses in the same lines with the extravagant accounts of candles and custards growing on the bushes, the fact that there is going to be a university, "to shed luster on the settlements." Far be it from me to depreciate this motive, but lest we forget, it is well to stop and consider once in a while that the fathers, along with their prophetic visions and high motives, were also very *human*.

Mention has been made of the Land Ordinance of 1785, which reserved Section 16 of each township. This applied only to what is known as the Seven Ranges, the first land surveyed by the National Government, and located along the river front of eastern Ohio.

Two years later the celebrated and historic year of 1787, three acts of tremendous importance were enacted in the interest of national land grants for education. There was the general provision in the Celebrated Ordinance of that year, the oft-repeated "religion, morality and knowledge" clause; the action of the Board of Treasury in selling to the Ohio Company the tract of land in southeastern Ohio and giving Section 16 for schools and the two townships for the University, and the incorporation in the United States Constitution of the clause conferring upon Congress absolute control of the public lands.

When John Cleves Symmes purchased his land between the Miamis he had a right to expect the same treatment as had been accorded the Ohio Company. Accordingly, the one-thirty-sixth reservation was made for the schools and one township set aside for the University. It is only fair to say we today are the guests of that University for which such provision was made.

The lands granted for education up to this time were made by the Congress under the Articles of Confederation. The new government did not seem disposed to follow its predecessor in this line. Its failure to do so was not because it did not have

the opportunity. Various tracts were set aside and opened for settlement in the first decade of our present Constitution, but no reservations for education were made. Petitions from various parts of the country, praying for such benefactions, went unheeded. It is only explainable on the grounds that the government perhaps was not in such pressing need of revenue or that it had other sources of income besides that of lands. Inducements in the shape of bonuses were unnecessary. Again, in some of these new tracts, as the Military Bounty Districts, the land was given away. While the people here would need schools, as in other sections, yet the high motive for the dissemination of knowledge did not seem to have occurred to these patriots.

It was not until April 30, 1802, when Ohio was knocking at the door of the Union for admission and Thomas Jefferson was on the other side of the door extremely anxious to admit the newcomer, because he needed the electoral vote in the impending election, that the national government returned to the principle of educational land grants. It then and there established a new precedent from which it has never veered.

The Chillicothe statesmen drove a hard but a just bargain. If the citizens of the Seven Ranges, and the Ohio Company's Purchase and the Symmes Purchase could have land endowments for their schools, why not the remainder of the state? Congress would not permit herself to give such a munificent donation without some tangible return. It was therefore agreed that for these school grants and several other considerations not pertinent to this article, Ohio would exempt from all taxes for five years after the date of sale all lands sold by the United States government. This was the bargain. Nothing is said in the enabling act about "religion, morality and knowledge," but instead reference is made "of acceding to a proposition, the tendency of which is to cherish and confirm our present happy political institutions and habits."

Time does not permit to detail the various grants given from time to time, until one-thirty-sixth of the entire area of the state was given in perpetuity to the cause of education. The last one to be granted was that of eight hundred acres for the French Grant in Scioto county. The precedent so established in Ohio became the settled policy of the National government, and



at once went into effect. In Indiana Territory the school sections were set aside and the townships for seminaries were located as soon as the land was offered for sale. These reservations were vested in the states of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan as each was admitted to the Union.

In the management of these grants the states were to serve as trustees. The land was under the control of legislative enactment. It could not be sold. Various systems of leaseholds evolved themselves. The state of Ohio proved herself to be a very poor trustee in administering her trust in both Section 16 and the University lands. Other states have done better. The several Ohio legislatures having to do with these lands have no reason to be proud of the ruthless manner in which this splendid endowment has been squandered by unwise legislation. In short, it amounted to the embezzlement of its trust and its wards, the children of the state, have been deprived of their inheritance. The maladministration of the educational lands in Ohio is the darkest blot in her history.

Beginning with 1827 Section 16 was permitted to be sold and the purchase money made a part of the irreducible debt of the state. This was one way of clarifying the situation, but it did not stop the graft. But about ten thousand acres in Ohio remained unsold. Illinois has approximately 7,000 acres.

The methods used by Ohio in manipulating the University lands would make a chapter all by itself. The amounts received by the institutions are a mere bagatelle to the splendid incomes it might have afforded by judicious management.

Transylvania University in Kentucky affords us an unique illustration of the founding of a college. During the Revolutionary War the old Dominion declared forfeit to the Commonwealth the property of all within her borders who bore arms with the British. Now it chanced in the County of Kentucky there were three wealthy Tories whose aggregate holdings amounted to eight thousand acres. By act of the Virginia legislature, these lands were escheated, and in 1780 were dedicated to the cause of education. Three years later an additional grant of 12,000 acres was made and the new University came into being.

The acme of land grants for education was reached in the



Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, when each state was given 30,000 acres for each representative in Congress for the purpose of subsidizing colleges for the agricultural and mechanical arts. Under this apportionment Ohio received 630,000 acres; Illinois, 480,000; Indiana, 390,000; Pennsylvania, 780,000; Kentucky, 330,000; and West Virginia, 150,000. Here in Ohio the Ohio State University has been the recipient of an additional gift. In 1871 there remained in the Virginia Military District quite an amount of unpatented surveys. These, Congress gave to the State of Ohio, which in turn donated them to the State University. The sum realized from these lands amounted to something over \$550,000.

The so-called "swamp-lands" have furnished some of the states with additional permanent revenues for education, where it was used for that purpose. Congress, by act of 1850, gave something like 62½ million acres to the western states. Ohio got 25,000 acres, for which she realized less than one dollar per acre.

This in general is the way in which education has been fostered through land grants in the Ohio Valley. I have dwelt more upon Ohio conditions for several reasons. First, because it was in Ohio that the system of the National Government, acting as benefactor, originated, and because it was here that so many various land grants were made. Second, because Ohio is an extreme type of the mismanagement of the trust, and the third and best reason is, I know more about it than that of any other state.

But there is one thing that impresses itself upon me as I study the question. It is the vast field afforded for research. It is a perennial source of discovery. There is so much history wrapped up in it because it comes so close to the people. Somebody some day will write a book. It will contain the story of men searching for homes, of statesmen wrestling with the problems of constructive legislation, of men and women turning their faces to the light. It will be the story telling of ambitions, of aspirations, of hopes, of discouragements, of failures. But it will be an interesting story because it will be so real, so human. *And that is history.*

## SAMUEL LEWIS, PROGRESSIVE EDUCATOR IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF OHIO.

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BY ALSTON ELLIS.

It has been said that great men have the shortest biographies. By this rule, Methusaleh while the oldest was also one of the greatest men that ever lived; for in Genesis it is said that "all the day of Methusaleh were nine hundred and sixty-nine years"; and then came the inevitable—"he died." This is the whole story, save that he was the father of numerous sons and daughters and through the agency of one of the former he bore the relationship of grandfather to the first great navigator of whom we have any record.

Some of the pioneer educators of Ohio were men of strong character and much in advance of their day in advocating educational progress in sane directions; yet sketches of their life work are of the briefest. No account of Ohio's educational progress would be complete that did not make more or less extended mention of the activities of such men as Ephraim Cutler, Nathan Guilford, Joseph Ray, William H. McGuffey, E. D. Mansfield, Samuel Lewis, and a number of others not less worthy of remembrance.

In Ohio, within the time covered by the writer's connection with school and college work, men of enlarged views, sterling integrity, and wide grasp of educational problems and conditions have wrought with marked effect in the upbuilding of what is best in public education and the pushing aside of the educational fads and fancies of mere theorists and visionaries. The naming of Thomas W. Harvey, Alfred Holbrook, W. D. Henkle, Andrew J. Rickoff, Israel Ward Andrews, Emerson E. White, John Hancock, Eli T. Tappan, and others of equal standing in educational affairs, is to illustrate the meaning and force of the statement just made.

It seems that we are living in a time of unrest and doubt regarding public education at it now exists. The unselfish and

devoted efforts of such strong characters as have been named gave impulse to educational forces pushing on to better things in school and college or brought them into being where they did not exist. Such was the character of their labors and influence, as the schools and colleges of the state were touched by each, that they might well look upon their work and pronounce it good and pray in the language of the Psalmist: "And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it." In the language of Dr. Beecher, when eulogizing the Puritan fathers of New England, it may be said of these departed friends of youth and education that they are worthy of being cherished with high veneration and grateful recollections by those upon whom their mantle of responsibility and service has fallen. These earnest souls did not labor in vain. By their fruits be they known. Some who now look back upon a lifetime devoted to school and college work are to be pardoned for reading, with something akin to disgust, the screeds against present-day school ideals and tendencies. It is not pleasant or encouraging to the lifelong teacher to be told that the public-school system with which he is connected is "the most momentous failure in our American life to-day", that it "is an absolute and total failure", and that it "is stupid in method, impractical in plan, and absolutely ineffective in results."

It is not germane, to what is herein attempted, to enter upon a refutation of this wholesale denunciation of present-day school work and its products. There are few agencies, however good their origin or however well-directed by conscientious and skilled people, that can claim exemption from some form of just criticism. The public-school system is no exception to this rule. It has sprung from the best thought and effort of the past, receiving modification as enlightened experience directed the way, and, to-day, in its democratic, cultural, and practical training of the young is vindicating its right to existence and the cost of its maintenance to all but those who can tell better how to pull down than to build up. It would be strange indeed if wisdom has exhausted itself in bringing the public-school system of the country to its present condition, however efficient and praise-

worthy. Failure in certain instances, and to a reasonable extent, will be admitted by the warmest friends of the system, but it is to war against sense to assert that the failure is total and absolute. Two prominent publications, professedly issued in the interest of women and the home and that are reported as finding their way into thousands of American homes, are doing much harm by presenting in their columns sensational diatribes against a system of public education to which the country at large owes so much of its intelligence, patriotism, and prosperity.

The attacks referred to are named because if they are warranted by conditions now existing in the schools of the land they go to show that the efforts of those who have been previously mentioned were evidences of misdirected energy, such as to harm rather than to help. A man such as Samuel Lewis would never have sacrificed time, strength, and health in the persistent advocacy of free schools, and of the best, for rich and poor alike had he felt that he was engaged in a work that would prove a momentous failure, one bringing a curse, instead of a blessing.

However painstaking a writer may be in attempt to do justice to the personality and educational service of Samuel Lewis, in a sketch like this, he will soon find his limitations; first of all in the lack of any wide range of printed matter descriptive of what he most desires to present.

*A Cyclopædia of Education*, published in 1877 and edited by Henry Kiddle and Alexander J. Schem, both connected at that time with the public schools of New York City, makes no mention of Samuel Lewis while giving more than three columns of space to a sketch of Horace Mann. *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* gives Samuel Lewis a "write-up" of twenty-eight lines. *Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary* gives one inch of space to Samuel Lewis. His name has mention in *Phillips' Dictionary of Biographical Reference*, but is not found in the *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*. Ohio histories, in possession of the writer and on the shelves of the Ohio University Library, have nothing about Mr. Lewis and but little of interest relating to the subject of education.

A most readable sketch is that found in a booklet written by State Librarian Charles B. Galbreath in 1894 and copied, in



great part, in Hon. James J. Burns' *Educational History of Ohio*. A chapter devoted to Biographical Sketches in *Education in Ohio*, a volume filled with interesting educational matter of a historical nature and published by authority of the General Assembly of Ohio in 1876, contains a three-page readable appreciation of Samuel Lewis from the pen of Hon. W. D. Henkle, then editor of the *Ohio Educational Monthly*. In the same volume, under the head of School Supervision, Hon. John Hancock, then Superintendent of Public Schools, Dayton, O., refers at some length to Mr. Lewis' characteristics as a man and to his eminent service to the cause of popular education.

Doubtless the source of most of the information relating to Samuel Lewis as the head of a home, as an educator, as a lawyer, as a preacher, as a worker in the cause of temperance, and as an anti-slavery agitator, is to be found in the *Biography of Samuel Lewis*, prepared by William G. W. Lewis, and published by the Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, O., in 1857. These various sources of biographical information are herein referred to because it is the writer's intention to use much of what they give in the completion of this sketch.

Samuel Lewis was a New England product, of English ancestry, born at Falmouth, Mass., March 17, 1799. Horace Mann, born at Franklin, Mass., was his elder by nearly three years. Massachusetts and Ohio unite in claiming the educational fame and service of Horace Mann; but Samuel Lewis is Ohio's own in all that went to distinguish his life as it was devoted to the cause of popular education and humanity. Both Mann and Lewis came from the great "middle class" and were largely self-made men, attaining their scholarship and fitness for their life's work through their own energy and perseverance. Says Emerson: "All great men come out of the middle classes. 'Tis better for the head; 'tis better for the heart."

The schools of Massachusetts, when Mann and Lewis were school children, afforded but limited opportunities for the attainment of the rudiments of an education. Mann, up to the age of fifteen, had never received more than eight or ten weeks' schooling in a single year. We are told that Lewis acquired all

the education he obtained from schools during the first ten years of his life. The early lives of these great educators were spent amid humble surroundings where "plain living" was a necessity and where "high thinking" came as the result of individual effort. This condition is that common to the early lives of very many eminent men. Aunt Bethiah Tolman was to Lewis what Aunt Mary Moody Emerson was to Emerson. Both men, when boys, were much indebted to their aunts for wholesome lessons of honor, truth, industry, and kindred virtues. In early youth, Christian influences were brought to bear upon Samuel Lewis. His son and biographer, describing the home life of his father at Falmouth, says: "Those were days of genuine piety and around almost every fireside was a school of religious instruction where youth was taught reverence and obedience to God. Here young Samuel was blessed by the example of a pious mother, that dearest and most invaluable gift that Heaven can vouchsafe to a child, whose prayers and lessons, and example were not without their accustomed effect."

The religious instruction of the home and the church took strong hold upon the mind of the boy and impelled by its influence he became a member of the M. E. Church when about ten years old. From that time until his death, forty-five years later, the prayer-meeting, the class meeting, and the pious associations of the church of his choice were to him seasons of spiritual refreshment whereby he was sustained when adverse forces pressed upon him and ill health gnawed at his vitals.

It must be admitted that Lewis' religion was of the straight-laced kind that brooked no question and was permeated not a little with the spirit of intolerance. As a preacher and as a layman he was unsparing in his denunciation of the liquor traffic and became one of Ohio's most eloquent and effective workers in the cause of temperance. "Let me tell you", he says, "that a drinking place in your neighborhood is an open pesthouse of moral and physical leprosy, more alarming than the worst plague that ever visited the heaven-cursed land of Egypt."

His views on that vital topic are in accord with those now held by a large majority of people engaged in educational work,

but his pronounced utterances condemnatory of the theater will not find so ready an acceptance by the minds of many whose moral and spiritual ideals are of a high order.

In a letter to his brother, written in 1831, he says: "Visit no theaters or other similar amusements. It is vain to say there is no danger. The danger is too great to be hazarded, and you can have no idea what the risk may be. Remain ignorant. I have seen young men, who, in such places, have taken the first step to a direful ruin: and from a character as fair, and prospects as good, as your own, have in one short week become outcasts from society and a burden to themselves. I repeat it, visit no theater or other similar places of amusement as you value your life."

Lewis had some of the personal characteristics of "Ossawatimie Brown", but his mental horizon had wider reach, and his personal activity was more wisely directed, than that of the popular-song hero.

Both in his mental and spiritual make-up, existed an element of fanaticism, but it was not the fanaticism of the Puritan hypocrites of England whom Macaulay describes as hating bear-baiting not because it gave the bear pain but because it gave pleasure to the spectators.

Lewis was sincere in what he thought and did and he was courageous, too, in advocating the right and rebuking the wrong. An instance in his brief career as a preacher will serve to illustrate. Persons who heard Mr. Lewis speak were seldom overcome by somnolency, but on the occasion of one of his sermons he noticed some persons, fatigued with the work they had done, sleeping during the sermon. "Having succeeded in arousing them from their slumbers, he challenged their attention to one fact, that they were nodding in God's house, on the Sabbath day, while their steamboats were in the act of being loaded at the wharf; that they were scarcely paying respect to the ordinances of their own church, in their own place of worship, while, out of doors, those under their employ were desecrating the holy day and, under their sanction, disobeying one of the prominent commands of their Master." The charge made was true, the shaft hit the mark, and those whose "withers were wrung" went from

the church carrying bitter resentment in their hearts against the preacher for his rebuke. When some of the "galled jades" called upon Mr. Lewis for an explanation, they were met with an undaunted front and told that defence by them against the charge of dereliction in religious duty could not be made in view of the evidence afforded by the use of his own eyes.

Reference to the attitude of Mr. Lewis in regard to church proprieties and places of amusement is but incidental to the main purpose of the writer, and return must be made to the years of struggle that came before he entered upon the work by which he is most known and honored—that of a "militant educator and reformer." The lives of Horace Mann and Samuel Lewis while never intimately connected yet run in parallel lines, for each is best remembered for his efforts in behalf of popular education. The two men had much in common. Both were thoroughly in earnest in what they did; both were strong effective public speakers; both attained a broad scholarship with but few of the educational advantages that are almost thrust upon the youth of to-day; both had comprehensive grasp of what public education should be and the results that would follow the conversion of their ideas into realities; both were unswerving in effort to follow where strong conviction lighted the way; and both worn down in body and mind by the arduous labors of the positions they filled, yet lived long enough to see the establishment of the work of their hands in the popularizing of their idea of free schools for all, with no fixed limits to the degree of efficiency to which they might reach.

Nothing of printed matter within the reach of the writer is more worthy of a place in this sketch than the words of Dr. John Hancock, whose memory is revered by the older teachers of Ohio, making a part of his readable article on School Supervision found in "Education in Ohio", a volume to which reference has already been made. He is speaking of the two great educators, reference to whom has made up the greater part of what has thus far been presented in these pages:

"Both men, although of diverse characteristics, had extraordinary qualifications for the work upon which they were about to enter. Both possessed an untiring energy, and both were prompted by an intense



enthusiasm in the cause of education of the whole people. Though the qualities of their minds were so different, they were both powerful and persuasive speakers. Mr. Mann had every advantage in the way of education and general culture, and these advantages he improved with the happiest results. His spirit was fiery, and he was filled with an unquailing, aggressive courage. His eloquence possessed the highest attributes of oratorical style, and he put into it all the best qualities of his heart and mind. He did not so much seek to convince by his logic, as to stimulate to noble deeds by constantly bearing aloft a standard of true manhood. No wrong could so securely intrench itself as to withstand the vehement tide of his indignant denunciation, and his scorn for mean thinking and doing was withering. He showed Massachusetts, the earliest home of the American common school, how miserably inadequate were the notions of her people as to the true scope of an education that should equal the exigencies of American citizenship. He showed that education, to be of great worth, must include more than reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography; that it must transcend all mere text-book lore, and have a moral side to it, incomparably more important than the intellectual.

"Samuel Lewis enjoyed none of the educational advantages of his eminent co-laborer, his school training having ended before he was ten years old. Otherwise, he was possessed of an excellent capital with which to begin life—a healthy mind of great original power and a thoroughly sound moral nature. He was essentially a man of the people, self-made and well-made. He was a born orator, naturally possessing those traits of mind which enable a speaker to convince and move the people. If the true standard of eloquence is what it accomplishes, then he might well have taken his place among orators of the highest rank. Less impassioned than Mann, he was not less earnest; less vehement, he was not less courageous; possessing less beauty and elevation of literary style, he was not less convincing and persuasive—nay, his very simplicity was inwrought with a wondrous power, and was far more effective with the people among whom he labored, than would have been the most finished rhetoric. In addition to these great qualities, his keenness of practical insight has seldom been surpassed."

From the humble labor of cabin boy on a coasting vessel, sailing on the waters of the Atlantic between Maine and the West Indies, to service at the bar, in the pulpit, and as an educational reformer is indeed a far cry but one not uncommon in this democratic America of ours. Centuries ago the carpenter's trade was dignified and exalted in the person of the Christ. Samuel Lewis for a time wrought at the carpenter's bench and did his work well as becometh a man whose rule was, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." It is not to his success

as a lawyer or a preacher that Mr. Lewis owes his place in the history of his adopted state, but rather to his timely and persistently continued advocacy of free schools for *all the people*. As a citizen of Cincinnati, he was tireless in his efforts to promote school interests in that city. It was largely through his influence that, in 1826, Mr. William Woodward, a friend and client, was led to deed a parcel of land in Cincinnati for the endowment of a school in which some of the higher branches of education should be taught. Later, additions were made to the original bequest, a suitable school building was erected, a scale of prices of tuition was arranged in order to increase the income of the school, and the institution became known as the Woodward High School.

One convert to a cause is usually an effective agency for securing another. Mr. Woodward's farm touched that of Thomas Hughes. The latter was induced by Mr. Woodward to follow his example in bequeathing a portion of his land to be leased by trustees until such time as the accumulation of rents would create a fund sufficient to put up a building for a school to be supported by the future revenues. This building was erected on a lot on Fifth street, at a cost of \$23,000.00, and was designed to accommodate the pupils of the central district of the city. In 1852, when a union of the two educational interests was effected, Hon. H. H. Barney became Principal of the Hughes High School and Dr. Joseph Ray, Principal of the Woodward High School.

Mr. Lewis did not live to see the full fruition of his hopes regarding these institutions, the real beginning of whose widespread usefulness dates from the union referred to. The union of these schools secured means for the education of all the city's youth and brought about a condition under which it could be safely said that "no child in Cincinnati need go without a high-school education."

Of the first buildings, Mr. Lewis' biographer says: "They are choice specimens of architecture and admirably adapted to all the necessities of a school, lacking no convenience, while no effort is spared to give the work done in them the highest degree of excellence." What would the writer of the last sentence say

in describing the present buildings, erected at a cost of about \$1,500,000.00 and equipped with the best furnishings that experience could select and money purchase?

The years 1831 and 1845 mark the life limits of the "Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers", an association of teachers and friends of education that held annual meetings in the city of Cincinnati within the dates named. "The project was the work of teachers, as may be easily imagined; but the sympathies of noble-minded and patriotic citizens, more ambitious of usefulness than fame, were the animating cause of its permanence and success." The "Transactions" of this much-named organization, in the printed form in which they are preserved to us, make a valuable and an interesting contribution to the educational literature of the country. One volume of the proceedings came from the press with the ardent hope on the part of the editors that, as far as the edition would allow, a copy might "find its way to the house of every friend of Education, Civil Liberty, and Piety."

It has been the privilege of the writer to read with great profit the recorded proceedings of six of the annual meetings. The reader, if he is conversant with educational matters as they exist to-day, will see in present-day conditions a realization of the hopes and ideals that found expression in the numerous addresses upon educational topics, and in the discussions that followed them, that gave life and character to these meetings.

Well-known and honored names are found on the membership roll, as witness that of Samuel Lewis and others that have already been named herein and the following—Milo G. Williams, Albert Picket, Freeman G. Carey, Alexander Kinmont, Calvin E. Stowe, Lyman Beecher, Alexander Campbell, John B. Purcell, Henry Ward Beecher, A. H. McGuffey, and others in living touch with the business, literary, and professional activities of that day.

Referring to the general character of the proceedings of the annual meeting held in 1834, the "Publishing Committee" says: "Let not the utility of the 'College of Teachers' be judged of merely by these *apparent fruits*—its best effects are to be looked for in the improved understanding of rising generations."

At the October meeting of 1835, Mr. Lewis read a "Report on the Best Method of Forming Common Schools in the West", from which quotation is made:

"We must bear in mind that our country in its habits, laws, institutions, and future prospects, differs from every other country; that in our country alone, of all the past and present relations of the earth, popular opinion gives law and controls government; we must look at the past rather as a beacon than a guide, and our system of popular education must be adapted to all the circumstances incident to the rising generation \* \* \* Every plan must be adapted to the convenience of those to be taught, keeping in view the main object of furnishing instruction."

In the same "Report" he names three indispensable requisites to be connected with movements to better school conditions:

1. Adequate funds for the support of common schools.
2. Teachers with better qualifications for their work.
3. More attention to, and interest in, their duties on the part of school visitors and examiners.

The three paragraphs quoted in this connection are expression of the views held by Mr. Lewis on these requisites and are given, in this connection, because they are characteristic of his terse utterances on educational problems and conditions as they were looked upon and discussed in his day:

1. "This is a subject of vital importance to society, and one in which every man ought to feel a deep interest. In a republican government like ours, the majority must always govern. Is it not then highly important that the youth should be enlightened and qualified for this responsible trust? Who are to be the sovereigns of our country a few years hence? Those ragged boys roving our streets, who can scarcely read a word or utter a correct sentence. Is it not then important that we should see to the education of our future governors; that we should use every means within our power to elevate the standard of our schools and render them worthy of public patronage?"

2. "If the honors of the teacher were actually what they ought to be, the place might be sought by the ambitious, disregarding the pecuniary consideration; but as honor almost always depends upon profit, so the error of seeking cheap teachers and making a low price the criterion of your patronage, has in reducing the income of your teacher taken from him much of the honors that his service demands, and until times change you can not expect to secure a man of the best talents for a teacher without you pay him as much for his services as he can procure in other situations."



3. School visitors and examiners "should be men alive to the subject in all its bearings, with feelings of the deepest interest in its behalf, willing to devote as much time as may be required to do ample justice: they will learn, from observation, the state of the schools and the conduct and qualifications of the teachers, and their influence will be felt in every department of the institution. This point can not be too much pressed: for, make what provision you please, still, if you have not an industrious and efficient board of school directors, the work will be but half done."

Two events of educational interest mark the year 1837. Early in the year, the Ohio Legislature passed a bill creating the office of Superintendent of Common Schools and followed that action by electing Samuel Lewis to that office. Before half the year had gone by, Horace Mann was elected Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Mr. Lewis entered upon the duties of his new position with his characteristic energy, visiting different parts of the state for the purpose of seeing personally the condition of the schools and appealing to the people for an awakened interest in public education that would lead to the giving of more money for school purposes to the end that better teachers and better schoolhouses might be provided for the children.

In his first year of office service Mr. Lewis again appeared before the College of Teachers, at its annual meeting, with a paper on "The Excellency of Adapting Common School Education to the Entire Wants of the Community." By "*entire wants*" he meant connecting the activities of the school with the interests and activities of the district in which it was located, and he meant that ordering of school matters that would bring to the poorest and humblest child of any community the opportunity for school instruction. Mr. Lewis was ever one of the people and his sympathies were quickly touched when he saw illustrations of "the short and simple annals of the poor." In the paper referred to, he took strong ground in favor of township high schools. Here is his description of the cry of the pupils for better school conditions and his words, in the nature of a prophecy, as to what the near future would call into being:

"Now the cry comes to us from every part of the state, and from all the states, demanding more efficient organization, saying, 'remove the great amount of machinery in the laws, simplify them, make but few school

officers, make them responsible, pay them a small compensation, and let them move onward.' To this call we heartily respond; and looking down the perspective of a few years we behold this great valley of sister states all dotted over with schoolhouses, and here and there, through every plain, the handsome academy rear its head and invite the youth from the surrounding country to drink the pure waters of learning — and still more seldom, but sufficient for the purpose, the stately college dome rise, furnishing a still higher treat to those whose love of learning, rather than of ease, will take shelter within its walls. That this will take place in a score of years, let no friend doubt."

He saw that *pay schools* were ineffective in providing for the education of the masses and expressed his view of the matter in the following forcible language:

"We now state it as a fact proved by all history and experience, that private schools will never hereafter, as they have never heretofore supplied the wants of the public in regard to education and if any man doubts this question, let him examine the state of education in every country, and we venture to predict that he will find no place where the whole people are educated unless it is by public provision. It is therefore useless to argue against all the experience of past and present times; theories will not controvert facts."

The following resolutions, presented by Mr. Lewis, were adopted by the College of Teachers at the meeting held in 1838:

"That the course of instruction in all institutions of learning should be as practical as possible, and we disallow the opinion that sound learning disqualifies for activity in the business and professional departments of society.

"That that is the most valuable education which develops the most fully all the powers of the body and mind and teaches how these powers can be so used as to produce the greatest influence in the promotion of individual and general happiness."

No general system of public schools existed in Ohio prior to 1821. It is true there was much school legislation, brought about in large measure by the recommendations of the early Governors of Ohio, of whom Edward Tiffin was the first, but it related chiefly to the management and disposal of the school lands. Undoubtedly, it was the thought of those who were active in securing grants of land from Congress for education in Ohio, and other states forming or to be formed, that their proper hand-

ling would create the means for the support of education without resort to a general property tax. The failure to realize this just expectation is the subject of a long story that can not be told in these pages. A great educational benefaction and sacred trust was, in the opening years of the State's history, so made the football of legislative action that there was lost to the State of Ohio a large part of the good that wiser and more unselfish action would have secured.

In 1824, the friends of education were wise in coupling the question of common-school support with that of internal improvements and making those two matters a question for settlement by public opinion at the general election held that year. It was ably argued that the revenues derived from the various land grants were inadequate to support the schools and that a general property tax for that purpose was necessary. The friends of internal improvements and of common schools stood together and, on February 5th, 1825, a bill was passed imposing a tax of *one-half of a mill*\* upon the taxable property of the state to create a fund "for the instruction of youth of every class in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and other necessary branches of a common education." This law was an advanced step in school legislation, but many of its provisions were dead letters for the ten years following its enactment. The people were not fully prepared for it and needed just such "a campaign of education" as Samuel Lewis inaugurated immediately after entering upon the duties of State Superintendent of Common Schools.

His first official report to the Legislature was made in January, 1838. He read it, accompanied with explanatory statements, at a public meeting attended by members of the Legislature and the citizens of Columbus. Says Dr. Hancock, in the sketch before referred to: "In this report he gives an account of his labors and sets forth his views on the whole subject of common-school education. His work was severe enough. Almost all his journeying was done horseback, most of it over bad

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\* It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the present (1912) mill-tax for the support of the public schools of Ohio is *thirty-five hundredths of a mill* and that some occupying places of honor and influence are advocating the repeal of the law under which it is levied.

roads and through a sparsely settled country. After averaging twenty-six miles per day of travel, he spent, as he tells us in one of his letters, three or four hours a day in conversation on school matters, and frequently spoke, in addition to all this, at night. Much of his work, too, was done with the drawback of impaired health. Everywhere, as he says, men agreed with him, applauded his speeches, but did nothing. The first year of his superintendency he traveled more than 1,500 miles and visited three hundred schools and forty county seats. Much time and zeal were also devoted to the organization of associations of teachers.

"In reading over his reports, one is surprised at the breadth and comprehensiveness of the views entertained by this pioneer in western education. Nothing seemed to escape his attention; and almost all plans for the improvement of common schools, since advocated, were distinctly enunciated by him."

After serving three years in the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools, Mr. Lewis resigned the position which he had so ably filled and retired to private life with shattered health and, as reports indicate, a feeling that he had not accomplished fully that whereunto he was called. It can be imagined that an independent and yet sensitive spirit like his could ill support the unjust criticism of him and his work heard in legislative halls and which was instrumental in bringing about legislation abolishing the office he held and transferring its circumscribed duties to the office of Secretary of State. Mr. Lewis went out of office a disappointed man, with a feeling of righteous indignation at the treatment he had received.

Space will not permit the enumeration of the educational problems stated and discussed by Mr. Lewis in the three reports made by him during his all-too-brief official life. These reports make good reading to-day. Like Page's *"Theory and Practice of Teaching"* they contain matter in the way of suggestion and discussion as vital and helpful to the present-day teachers and school officials as they were to these persons seventy years ago.

He asserted that "a school not good enough for the rich will never excite much interest with the poor;" he maintained that all education of real value included instruction in the principles of Christian morality; he was among the first in Ohio,



if not the first, to favor township high-schools, county supervision, public normal schools, and a state university; he had special concern for the education of women and recommended such education for them "as would be adapted to their sphere in life, and be likely to elevate their views, refine their tastes, and cultivate that delicacy of sentiment and propriety of conduct, which the good of the country, no less than their own happiness, requires;" he would place a free library — a real university as Carlyle calls it or a dukedom large enough in the opinion of Prospero — in every township of the state; he favored graded schools and school consolidation wherever practicable; he was severe in his strictures upon the methods of teaching in vogue since they placed undue emphasis upon cultivating the memory to the neglect of the reasoning powers; and last, but not least, he had sense enough to know that something could not grow out of nothing, and that no adequate system of public schools could be secured without a considerable money cost to somebody.

In what precedes, no mention has been made of Mr. Lewis' family relations. In 1823, he was united in marriage to Miss Charlotte R. Goforth, younger daughter of Dr. William Goforth, a well-known and highly-respected physician of Cincinnati. There were no jarring elements in this union, and the wife, who survived her husband, was to him ever a source of inspiration and helpfulness. They were plain people, taking life seriously and yet finding a source of happiness in the performance of its manifold duties. Two of the six children that blessed this union died in infancy; two others, a daughter and a son passed into the beyond before the death of their father; the remaining children, also a daughter and a son, survived the father as did the mother, that father's faithful and loved companion for more than thirty years.

The compiler of the matter presented in the pages going before — for what has been written is largely a copy of what has been given publicity by others — will be pardoned, he hopes, for concluding this paper with a brief reference to Joseph T. Lewis, the eldest son of Samuel Lewis, who was the sole graduate of Ohio University in the year 1841. Direct quotation is made

from the "*Biography of Samuel Lewis*" written by his other son, William G. W. Lewis:

"The eldest son was a man of rare abilities and excellent promise, who graduated with honor, at the Ohio University, at the age of seventeen. He soon commenced teaching at the Woodward College, Cincinnati, where, after remaining one year, he received an appointment to the Professorship of Natural Science. He repaired to Yale, to perfect an already intimate acquaintance with the details of that department of study. He had been there but a few months, when he felt an increasing sense of responsibility upon the subject of the ministry of the Gospel. In the early part of the winter of 1842-3, he left New Haven, and returned home to devote himself to the work which he had chosen. Resigning his post in the College, and thereby giving up a position for which he was well-fitted, and in which he might have acquired a brilliant reputation with ease, he entered the Methodist ministry, and was personally associated with Rev. M. Dustin, then in charge of Oxford station.

"Here he remained till the succeeding autumn, when, at the age of nineteen, he left this State to join the Rock River Conference. His first appointment was to missionary work, but, within a few months, he was called to fill a vacancy at Iowa City, where he remained for that year. In 1844, he was appointed to Davenport station. During this year, the health of his wife, for he was now married, began to fail, and in the fall of 1845, he was transferred to the Ohio Conference, and was stationed at Marietta, where he won the highest regards of the whole community. In 1846, he was appointed to the Ebenezer charge, in Cincinnati, where the rapidly increasing membership made it necessary to enlarge their means of worship, and Christie Chapel was built, mostly by his taste and under his direction. He was re-appointed in 1847, but was soon found to be laboring under the disease which had proved fatal to his wife, consumption. He lingered till November, 1850, when he died at Philadelphia, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, in the possession of a high reputation in his conference and Church for talent, eloquence, and success."

## COLONEL DICK JOHNSON'S CHOCTAW ACADEMY: A Forgotten Educational Experiment.

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MRS. SHELLEY D. ROUSE.

Less than a century ago, there was a large and prosperous school for the education of the sons of the Southern Indians, in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky.

It was at that time "the only institution in the country under the supervision of the war department of the United States excepting the military academy at West Point;" it attracted the attention of philanthropists, and was visited by many interested and curious travelers; it was under the patronage of a Vice President of the United States, and its head-master for most of its nearly twenty years of existence, was a man of unusual parts, who, though somewhat in advance of his times, must have been marked and respected by his generation. Of this unique undertaking there are but few and obscure records. The recent discovery of the correspondence of its Superintendent, which since his death nearly seventy years ago has been undisturbed, suggests an inquiry into its history.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Indians of the southern tribes had become discouraged with the results of warfare with the white man; it was borne in upon them that the only way in which they could compete with him and survive was to become learned in his wisdom, that they might "fight the pale face with his own medicine." In the treaties educational provisos began to appear. A number of mission-schools had been established by the different religious sects under direction of the War office (for Indian affairs were then very frankly of that department), but the head men of the nations had become dissatisfied with the opportunities afforded by these institutions. The surroundings were those of barbarism; the authority of the teachers was weakened by the fact that the parents were their children's guardians, and they, according to ancient custom, required no continued performance of duty; attendance was much

interrupted by calls to hunt or to fight, and even more often by illness; for small-pox was everpresent, "bilious fevers were prevalent in spring and summer," and tubercular disorders were showing themselves; efforts to fix habits of industry and steady purpose were rendered futile by such environment. Even the most sanguine teachers grew disheartened; we find one of them writing jubilantly to the Department at Washington: "We are keeping step in the march of civilization; the Indian men and boys are wearing Pantaloons;" but his next letter reports sadly enough that they cannot be restrained from trading those same pantaloons for firewater. Finally, in 1825, the Presbyterian missionary to the Choctaws writes in despair that Chief Mingo Mushalatubbee had given his warriors permission to fight and kill for one month (the time limit being no doubt the effect of civilization), and that the schools in the nation had been closed owing to the drunkenness of the chief, at whose house one of them was maintained, and the disreputable conduct of the teachers of others "who had been driven from the nation in fear of their lives."

The next document in the yellowed archives of the War Department contains the germ of the foundation to which we refer. It is a communication from the chiefs General Hummingbird, Wishu-washano, Nilega, and John Jones, wherein they state that the Choctaw treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek concluded at Washington in 1825, provided that \$6,000 should be supplied by the President annually for twenty years "to the support of schools in said nation." This fund, as well as another arising from the sale of certain lands reserved in the treaty made at Doak's Stand in 1820, the chiefs desired applied to the education of youths at some point distant from the nation. For they declared that although schools could be maintained in the nation by the expenditure of half as much money, which money would circulate among themselves, while the daily example of the students might be of benefit to their brothers, nevertheless they wished the flower of their young men to be educated far from the allurements and distractions of the plains and the wigwams, where they could not seek the protection of their parents in idleness, and where they could be surrounded by the customs and



manners of civilized life. In furtherance of this request, which was acceded to by the government, their agent, Colonel Ward, wrote to his personal friend Colonel R. M. Johnson, United States Senator from Kentucky, and to the Secretary of the Baptist Board of Missions, which had a flourishing Indian Department with headquarters at Louisville.

The Honorable Richard Mentor Johnson was a prominent man in his day. Born at Bryant's Station in 1781, he had some schooling at Transylvania, became a lawyer, a state legislator, a member of Congress from 1807 to 1819; was unanimously elected a United States Senator in the latter year, and served in that capacity until he was made Vice-President of the United States with Van Buren from 1837 till 1841. A man of great enthusiasm and energy, indomitable physical courage, with but few social graces and little learning, he was more politician than statesman; yet was the author of several important state papers, among them the bill against Imprisonment for Debt. In 1812 he raised a regiment of cavalry, and having hastened to the frontier, near the outpost of Fort Wayne, Indiana, he served under General Harrison. At the battle of the Thames in 1813 occurred the most picturesque incident in his career. During the engagement, he and old Colonel Whitley led a forlorn hope against the Indian allies ambushed in a swamp; there was a tremendous melee; everybody fell; Colonel Whitley dead; warriors dead; Colonel Johnson borne off the field, near dead, with twenty-five wounds; and the Kentucky pioneers, to the battle-cry of "Remember the Raisin," avenged their massacred kinsmen by cutting razor strops from the skin of a painted and befeathered brave dead near by, while the wailing Indians, retreating, dragged away for burial a mighty form in buckskins. Quickly the tale went forth that Colonel Johnson had killed the warrior-priest Tecumseh; a leader of great power and dignity, illimitable influence with his people, huge-bodied and able-minded, a councillor and a prophet:—and thus had broken the backbone of Indian resistance in the northwest. Long and spirited were the discussions which ensued. Collins says, after pages of reasons pro and con, "It seems probable that Colonel Johnson did not kill Tecumseh, that Adam King may have done so, and that Colonel Whitley did." However,

Whitley was dead, Adam King was an obscure private soldier, and the gallant young Colonel, who had given his time, his talents, his money and his blood for his country, got full credit for putting an end to the dreaded chief, and, nothing loth, became the idol of his state. We have heard a very old gentleman tell with chuckles, of having listened to Colonel Johnson, who, arrayed in a bright-red waistcoat, with large tears rolling down his cheeks, was making stump speeches in which he thrillingly related his slaughter of Tecumseh; and we have read a quaint letter in which the Colonel discourses of his attendance at a theatre party in Washington to see the drama of "The Death of Tecumseh"; whereat there was great cheering and a mighty bowing to the audience. And sure it is that there used to be heard a rousing campaign song in 1819 with the refrain of:

"Tum ti iddy and a  
Rumsey, Dumsey!  
Colonel Johnson  
Killed Tecumseh!"

Were it not for the records of his wise plans and desires for the permanent establishment of the southern tribes in a territory of their own, "fixed upon a Basis that can never be shaken by the white people of the State in whose limits they now reside," it might appear that the same spirit which moved the Indians to eat the heart of a brave enemy, caused them to select Colonel Johnson as patron and protector.

The Baptist Board of Missions was another valuable ally. The Baptists had been the pioneers of religion in Kentucky; shepherded by "men of ardent piety, untiring zeal, indomitable energy of character, and vigorous and well-balanced intellects in every way fitted to the then state of society in a wilderness beset with every danger and privation, they were the first ministers to the brave, daring and noble spirits who settled and subdued this country" and notwithstanding various divisions and defections, in 1825 their numbers still retained in the state a proportion of about one in twenty of its inhabitants. Therefore, it was deemed good policy to put this popular denomination in charge of the new venture. The names of the members of the

School-Board and the Board of Visitors which it appointed are mentioned in many of the histories of the time. They were: Dr. Staughton, Secretary of the Baptist Board at Washington; Wm. Suggett, who had commanded a mounted battalion in an engagement near Ft. Wayne when an Indian chief of some distinction was killed; Jacob Creath, a famous preacher and Indian fighter who because of a "personal difficulty with an elder about a negro trade," caused a noted split in the church; Benjamin Chambers, a distinguished soldier and legislator; James Fishback, D. D., one of the founders of the Bible Society; Major John T. Johnson, a brother of the Colonel, a member of Congress, a Judge of the Appellate Court, who later became a convert to Alexander Campbell's teachings and a minister of the Christian Church; Elder Barton Stone, to whose virtues and theological dissensions the old chroniclers devote many pages; General David Thompson, legislator from Scott County; Dr. Noal, a legislator; and James F. Robinson, a Governor of the State and one of the incorporators of the town of Covington. All were conscientious men of position, and of sturdy life and principles, as well as veteran Indian fighters.

To try now to revitalize their rugged individualities is like calling up spirits from the vast deep, and well-nigh as impossible.

It is less difficult, however, to re-create the personality of the true hero of the Choctaw Academy, whom Colonel Johnson heralds thus to the Indian Department: "I have engaged a man of uncommon merit. A scientific character, with Globes." This man, described as a "preacher of the gospel, eminent for his literary talents and attainments and his amiable disposition; a man of business, industrious in his habits, dignified in his deportment, and conciliatory in his manners," was Thomas Henderson. He was born in 1781 in Albemarle County, Virginia, and was a kinsman of Richard Henderson of Transylvania Land Company fame. Little is known of his life before his second marriage, but it is evident that he was a man of liberal education, advanced ideas, broad sympathies, and much executive ability. He may have come west as a surveyor, for it is known that he surveyed part of the territory of Missouri for the government, and there

are records of his surveys in the then young town of Cincinnati. That he was a philanthropist even in his youth is proved by an old deed which records his purchase, as a trustee, of two hundred acres of land on Green River, Kentucky, and of his colonizing there the negroes that were freed "with their increase forever," by the will of one John White, of Albemarle County, Virginia. It is said that he had been an Episcopalian in the latter State, but we find that he was licensed to perform marriages in Albemarle in 1807, having "proved his ordination as a Baptist clergyman." Colonel Johnson says in 1825 that he had been "accustomed to teaching for years of his life;" where, or whom, we have no record. At that date he was a storekeeper and merchant in Scott County, and being a connection by marriage, was also the confidential adviser and manager of Colonel Johnson's affairs while that gentleman was serving his country in Washington. From the letters of the latter to Mr. Henderson, and his to the office of Indian affairs, together with sundry documents preserved in the congressional records, we can construct the story of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, the memory of which seems to have perished.

The request of the Indians for its establishment having been acceded to by the government, Colonel Johnson proceeded to make preparation. "The nation of Choctaws," he writes in 1825, "determined upon this measure without my solicitation and without my knowledge, but since they have decided to send their children here, I feel a deep interest for them, and believe it will benefit me to furnish them with every accommodation of boarding and clothing, etc., etc., to make them comfortable. No man in the United States is better fitted than I am for this business. I have a house with three rooms 20x30 feet which I shall appropriate exclusively to their accommodation. Another house with four rooms twenty feet square which will do for a teacher to live in; and one room for a school room. The whole establishment will be within my fences so that no time shall be lost." In later letters there are directions for "fixing up my hughed [sic] log house for the Creeks" and references to many other building operations. The negro working men were put to construction of tables, benches, chairs, "etc., etc.;" the sewing women



to making sheets and shirts; books were ordered from Philadelphia, tracts and Bibles from Washington, stores were laid in, and to quote the Colonel, "All is Bustle."

The school was admirably situated at Great Crossings, near Blue Springs in Scott County, Kentucky, seven miles from Georgetown, and two miles off the pike; where the old buffalo trail leading from the far south to the Ohio River crossed the north fork of the Elkhorn, and near Stamping Grounds, where the herds had been wont to congregate and stamp every blade of grass from the surface of the earth. "The country," says Mr. Henderson, "is somewhat broken, interspersed with hills, groves and pleasant valleys; the water is excellent and pure, the climate mild, healthy and pleasing. In addition to other circumstances tending for healthful conditions in this institution, it is located within half a mile of the White Sulphur fountain, one of the best medicinal springs in the West." In truth the sanitary conditions must have been excellent, for excepting the dread cholera years when so many died, the health reports contain few casualties; mentioning, "several with colds but not serious," "two boys sick with bad Risings," and some from "gormandizing great quantities of meat three times a day." And this in spite of the primitive administration of the medical department which is suggested when we find Colonel Johnson trying "to get a doctor and preacher combined" in order that the Superintendent may be sometimes relieved from his Sunday preaching duties; and from the fact that at one period it was "successfully conducted by Dr. Adam Nail, an Indian youth, who had turned his attention to medicine; with the occasional aid of other physicians."

A working plan for the school was submitted by the Baptist Board of Missions and approved by the Secretary of War, Governor Barbour. In addition to the Choctaws, the Creeks agreed, in 1826, to send twenty boys. The Pottawatamies, (referred to as "a powerful nation settled along the waters of the Wabash on lakes near the Canada line where British talks and British goods continually interrupt their peace and our security,") agreed to apply \$2,000 per annum for as many of their tribe as that sum would support at the school. The school having increased in importance and favor with the southern tribes, there

are notes during the ensuing years of the presence of Miamis, Foxes, Sacs, Chicagos, Quapaws, Prairie du Cheius, Iowas, Ottawas, Chippewas and Seminoles. There was mention at first of a scheme for "taking in a number of white children from the neighborhood to share the instruction and to be treated in exactly the same manner as the Indians," but the Kentuckians had no great faith in the niceness of Colonel Johnson's discrimination in regard to the association of races, and they must have declined these ministrations, as there is no further allusion to the plan.

In 1831, Mr. Henderson writes that under circumstances of absolute necessity he is compelled to make an appeal to the Honorable Secretary of War, (John Eaton), for the first time to make an additional allowance to his compensation as Superintendent of this institution, stating that when the school was first organized with twenty-five youths from the Choctaw tribe, an allowance of \$500 per annum having been made the Superintendent from the fund of \$6,000 annually for twenty years, he was induced to take it "more from principles of humanity arising from a deep solicitude to see the condition of that unfortunate people changed for the better than from any pecuniary consideration." "The prospect for an increase of students at the time," he explains, "was entirely uncertain, indeed it was not believed that it would be any better, but on the contrary that it would dwindle and come to nothing. The school has increased beyond all calculation, and has become an institution of more importance than we ever contemplated. Additional students only increased the labor, care and anxiety of the Superintendent, without any additional salary, for the school fees of \$10 each over and above the twenty-five students for which the provision was made at first, are barely sufficient to pay the assistant teachers that the institution requires." In other words, for six years he had cared for five times the number of students agreed upon with no increase of pay, and had made no request for it; this seemed reasonable enough even to the economical United States Government, and he was allowed \$800 with \$400 additional for assistant teachers, which arrangement continued until the closing of the school.

The first students, in pursuance of an unexpressed desire that this should be a higher-school for young aristocrats of the plains, were selected from those who had been a longer or shorter time at the schools of the nation; some from among the best scholars; others there were who from their age or "other circumstances," could not be again received therein and it was considered on the whole, according to their agent, a relief to be rid of them. The list of their names resembles a roll-call of Congress for though we are occasionally cheered by such local touches as "Morris Tiger," "Charles Bushyhead," and "Tomfula," most of them are Americanized into Benjamin Harrison, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas H. Benton, and so resoundingly on.

They travelled from the agency by means of rivers; sometimes beginning the journey in large canoes lashed together, debarking to steamboats at Louisville, thence to Cincinnati, and completing the journey on horseback; the horses being either sent back with returning scholars, or sold and the proceeds turned over to the governmental fund; they were usually accompanied by a competent conductor, and, though rarely, were sometimes dispatched alone with an open letter to "all well-disposed people," asking that they be sped on their way and kept from strong drink.

The regulations for the school's governance were had in careful detail from the war office. The clothing of the students was a uniform of mixed dark-grey, and of blue and white, and is thus prescribed in instructions:

1 Frock or rifle coat of domestic woolen cloth.....	\$12 00
Coat (summer) of colored domestic cotton.....	4 00
2 pair Woolen Pantaloon to correspond with coat....	8 00
2 pair Cotton Pantaloon for summer coat.....	5 00
4 Shirts .....	4 00
4 pair Shoes or Moccasins.....	4 00
4 Neck Handkerchiefs.....	1 50
1 Black Leather Stock.....	50
2 pair Woolen Stockings for winter.....	50
1 Hat for dress wear.....	2 50
1 Cap of linen or cloth for common wear.....	50
Total .....	<hr/> \$42 50

Their food, and "I feed them equal to any good tavern," said Colonel Johnson, was according to a bill of fare issued by the Department: "*Breakfast and supper:* Tea, or coffee, or milk, and sugar, with bread and butter. *Dinner:* Meat and vegetables; salt meat twice a week, and hominy when in season." The curriculum included "reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, practical surveying, astronomy, and vocal music." The books used were Emerson's Readers, Pike's Arithmetic, Kirkham's Grammar, the American Spelling Books, Olney's Geography, Tytler's History, Blake's Philosophy, Colburn's Algebra and Gibson's Surveying. There is evidence of their scholarship to this day; for their Superintendent has kept several letters from ex-pupils written in beautiful, copperplate, eighteenth century-looking hands, couched in waif Johnsonian English, and expressing their affection for Mr. Henderson and their homesickness for Kentucky in quite touching fashion. Some maps carefully drawn and coloured which were sent to the wise men in Washington are extant; and numerous compositions and addresses are preserved as exhibits among the executive documents. General Tipton writes in 1827, after a visit to Kentucky: "Everything about the establishment, globes, maps, books, and instruments are suited to the purpose, as well as the dress and treatment of the students; and the most perfect harmony prevails among them, removed from the bad example of wild Indians in their native revelry. There the native talent can be cultivated surrounded by the first families of the West. They receive occasional visits from gentlemen of the first order besides the superintending care of that soldier and statesman, Colonel Johnson. The discipline is such as must be approved by the entire community. Boys who have been there but thirteen months write and draw in a way that would do credit to any institution of white boys in the country."

Mr. Henderson approached his work with profound interest and a solemn devotion of his powers. It was a task of no little difficulty and embarrassment; he was never unhampered; he could never complete his experiments without interference from the constantly changing officers of Indian affairs: some of them competent and conscientious men, some otherwise. He was



responsible to the War Department of the United States; to Colonel Johnson; and to the Baptist Board; while to the teacher's customary burden, — the pacification of perturbed parents, these being in his case, the wild Indian Chiefs, — was added the manipulation of political foes, wilier and almost as wild.

The Department advised him that it was important that he should commence school at sunrise the year round and finish the day's duties at sundown, except on Saturday, when it would be proper for them to cease at noon. He is admonished that he "must on no account, even for a day, unless ill, withdraw his personal attention, as "it is hard to delegate power, and the principal must give his personal and constant attention to his trust in order to give it life and energy and make it operative and successful." The Board desired him "to review the conduct of the youths once a week, offering approbation or censure, to give frequent and affectionate lectures upon the advantages of temperance, mutual good will, respect for parents, and upon all other topics which an excellent morality can embrace, especially as to the truth and expedience of the Christian religion. To visit the children frequently at their respective dwellings by night and by day, to prevent disorders, and to make them employ their time properly." Colonel Johnson tells him: "Have everything like the Horses in Pharaoh's Chariot and the building of the temple of Solomon; and all you do let it go on as a matter of course without Bustle," and he mentions that "when the school reaches one hundred and fifty, the Secretary of War intends to have visitors examine the students, as at West Point, which will put us all to our trumps, but we can show our hands to advantage."

He had entire direction and management of the business affairs and domestic arrangement of the institution besides devoting all his time during school hours to the teaching of the class of twenty-five, which, under the Dancing Rabbit agreement, devolved entirely upon him. The students of astronomy, book-keeping and surveying met in his house every night during the winter, excepting the Wednesdays of alternate weeks, to spend two hours in reviewing the studies of the day under his inspection. The only holidays were Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Whit-

suntide, Fourth of July, and the 22nd of February, on all of which days the Superintendent must carefully explain the reasons for their observance; and one week at the time of the annual examination in June. It was directed that Saturday afternoon be spent by the boys in preparation of rooms and clothes for the Sabbath, and in the writing of letters to friends and relatives in the nation, for the best of which letters prizes were awarded every three months. What these prizes were can be inferred from Colonel Johnson: "I shall without delay send you reward Books as I did last year. There is no society in the union where I can get anything but Bibles and Testaments, and it is this winter difficult to get them." There is also itemized on a bill from McDaniel & Finnell "1 Bunyan's Holy War for Bour-rassa." The Superintendent was required by the Department to "see that these letters would produce a favorable impression in the nation. The boys would as soon write good letters as bad, but if left to themselves, they make complaints and tell lies in order to get money and petting." The Sabbath was to be made a day of rest, interesting and instructive, with Sunday-school and preaching by the reverend superintendent.

During the first years of the school, when it increased so rapidly and unexpectedly, there began to be trouble about the necessary assistant teachers. It was not easy to get young men of "consecration and worth" to devote all of their time to the young savages for \$100 and \$150 a year. And in 1827 we find Colonel Johnson writing that the Government proposes that the classes be held under the Lancasterian plan;—a monitorial system of instruction introduced by an English educator, wherein monitors chosen from the more advanced scholars taught the primary classes. This was successfully adapted to the needs of the school, and there is constant reference in the letters to the numerous lower-form teachers and their Indian assistants.

It is interesting to note how many of our so-called modern improvements in education were worked out by this school-master of a past century, and how scientifically, as well as prayerfully, they were applied to his Indians. In order that "they might become Pillars of Society", he inaugurated the Lyncurgus court, its end being to promote self-government; it consisted of

a judge, a jury, a sheriff; two lawyers and a clerk. The grand jury took notice of every kind of misconduct during recess and out of school hours, and at the regular courts presentments were made, every officer striving to copy the proceedings of the common courts of justice. That "they might become Ornaments", there was the Napoleon Society, its object being to instruct the young men in "all the peculiarities of etiquette, observed in polite circles of society; and that the savage breast might be soothed according to poetic precedent, singing societies and a native band were organized. Mr. Henderson had been warned in the beginning that the studies of the young chieftains were not to be interrupted by any form of "menial industry" except the making of their own fires, and such exercises as should be necessary to health, recreation and improvement," but in 1832 after the school had endured for seven years, he revolted suavely but firmly against the continued creation of "aboriginal Turvey drops", and wrote to the Department that he had wished for several years to have shops connected with the school, and to introduce manual labour. "I have been led to these reflections," he says, "partly from the nature of the case as it has been presented to my own mind, and partly from having had boys in the school whose minds appeared turned more upon some kind of work than on their books; also from the discovery of a considerable mechanical genius among them together with a desire manifested by some of the youths themselves to become mechanicians. Let such as discover a genius latent for scholarship be permitted to pursue a regular course of study to the full extent, but I would not deprive the most sprightly of an opportunity to acquire some mechanical art;" he here makes some technical suggestions and soothes the parsimony of the Government by stating that the mechanics engaged to instruct the boys could be paid from the proceeds of the shops, so that the Department would be put to no extra expense; and declares that with this addition the establishment would be doing more good to the Indians than any other in the Union. "Indeed," says the good man, allowing himself a little glorification, "I flatter myself that they are deriving more benefit from it now, than from any source whatsoever. It is impossible to express my feelings on the occasions when I

have my students in full review and look over the fine countenances of many; the mind becomes enlarged in anticipation that from this institution and through the instrumentality of my labours, many are to return to their people as so many torches to enlighten their superstitious and ignorant tribes with the glow of science, of religion and of civilized life! Nothing will afford me more pleasure than to have your advice and instruction and to execute your order in all matters pertaining to the improvement and happiness of this ill-destined race."

This letter was ignored by the politicians then in charge of Indian education, but a year later, Bourrassa, a young Choctaw chief, who, while studying law at Georgetown College and being educated at the school, having also been for a year an under-teacher there, addressed the Indian agent, General Grover, in what he calls the silent language of the pen. He asked him to use his influence to have two or three shops joined to the school for the benefit of some students and the good of several tribes, protesting against its being used solely as a classical academy. "Sir," he writes, "there is no proper person to select the boys that are come to this institution; therefore there are some who cannot learn their books, were they to live as long as the man of 969 years and study all the time, but could a trade. There are many who could have taken a common education and a trade in the same length of time they spend generally in this academy. It is for want of regular employment that they are so prone to practice their Indian habits, and it would be mere folly to confine them to their studies all the time for we know that the Indian boys are unbounded in their recreation, their parents never restrict them." He declared that a young man with a trade would be of much more benefit to his people than would be one with a classical education alone, "for the savage or wandering tribes cannot support a school-master, but a blacksmith would have easy access to many tribes, for some Indians have been known to travel upwards of two hundred miles to get one or two of their hunting utensils repaired. Almost any trade will prove more beneficial than a good education in the first settling of a country; it was not by pen and book that this country was settled, but by axe and plough. A young man with a trade could support him-



self and family by it, and also be employed by the Department for his tribe to aid in this colonization business which will help or else prove the everlasting destruction of the Indians; and only their own young men can help them. A blacksmith could be of more service to a tribe than the greatest professor in North America, and your honour well knows that an old Indian would be more pleased to get a knife or a tomahawk from his son than ten well-ordered philosophical lectures 'which' he would say, 'do not feed me nor clothe my children.' The establishment of those shops would check the laziness of the Indian character and do away with those waste times and Indian plays which day by day they follow closer than the devoted followers of Bacchus did him."

The Department took prompt cognizance of this bit of native special pleading, and Mr. Henderson's plans and estimates having been submitted and approved, the shops were built and instruction begun. There was a wagon-shop, a shoe-shop, and two smith shops. Mr. Henderson says: "I at first contemplated more contracted buildings, but upon advice of more enlightened and practical men, I was encouraged to put up buildings comfortable and large and to procure a full supply of the best tools in order to insure the object in view, i. e., to make good mechanics in the shortest possible time of the youths that might be put to trades. I found great difficulty in procuring skillful workmen in the different mechanical branches; of steady and sober habits, calculated to fill their stations with that dignity which the nature of the case required, but finally succeeded to my entire satisfaction. It requires three shoe and boot-makers, three smiths, and two wagon-makers to instruct each shop." The Department having reminded the Superintendent that mechanical instruction was not the primary object of the school, and that no coercion was to be used to make the boys go into the shops, ordered regulations to be made to prevent overwork and undue severity on the part of the principals; directed that the latter be required to keep accounts of the work done by each boy and to present them at the end of each month to the Superintendent for examination by him and by the inspectors, who would then distribute the proceeds among the boys according

to the work done by them severally, and in their relative capacities; the cost of the tools and the pay of the mechanics having been deducted. The general direction of the shops was to rest with the Superintendent, who would be allowed ten per cent of the proceeds after having made the above deductions, the percentage to be subtracted before the division among the boys. Quarterly reports were to be made by the Superintendent to the Department exhibiting the names and pay of the mechanics, names and amount of work done during the quarter by each boy, and the amount of money to be distributed. And it was emphasized that every boy in the shops must pursue the elementary studies so far as to acquire a knowledge of arithmetic.

The report of the inspectors in November, 1833, states: "We approve the plan of teaching the boys the mechanic arts as well as letters. We visited the workshops and were pleased with the plans of the buildings but far more with the astonishing proficiency of the boys in the several branches of mechanism, never having seen it surpassed if equalled; the improvement of some of the youths is rapid beyond calculation; in the blacksmith, shoe, boot and wagon makers' shops we saw industry, attention and ingenuity displayed, and pleasure beamed in the countenances of all. We are convinced that a tailor's, cabinet,—and such other shops as the government's wisdom directs should be added. The Superintendent acted wisely in expending double the amount he at first expected for the mechanical arrangements. Mr. Henderson writes that the "deep interest which the institution excites and almost daily invites spectators of every class, both foreigners and citizens, males and females, to witness the novelty of Indian reform, but no department has excited more admiration than the recent introduction of workshops connecting practically the arts and sciences, particularly for that race of the human family which has so long suffered the want of both;" while a distinguished visitor in 1834, in expressing his approval of the flourishing school, says, "If the chase is to be abandoned and war cease to be a favorite pursuit among them, the mechanic arts should be substituted. It is well known that even the simplest artificer among the Indians is looked upon with some of the admiration felt for their chiefs and warriors."

This reform having been so successfully inaugurated, in December, 1837, Mr. Henderson wrote to Colonel Johnson as to the advisability of introducing in addition to the work shops, a system calculated to instruct youths in the business of agriculture upon a small scale. "It could be done by a proper man," he says, "without interruption to regular studies, and would be an important acquisition to the Indians. I think if you could get Mr. Harris, (the head of Indian affairs at that time), who seems a most excellent, practical man, to take some interest in the promotion of the plan, it would result in much benefit to the tribes." The Colonel responded with enthusiasm that they might cultivate eighteen or twenty acres, as it would save him expense and complaints of the neighbors against the boys. He advised that each one have "a garden or truck patch of all the vegetables, and a corn field, all embraced," and thought that "the boys would enter upon it with a spirit to feast upon."

Both the gardens and the shops prospered exceedingly for years, and might have done so till the end, had it not been for the weakness of the government's position in insisting upon voluntary attendance; and this notwithstanding the constant complaints from the heads of the native schools deploring the changeableness, levity and idleness of the Indians in regard to any sort of steady work. In 1838, the Department having had occasion to see the error of its ruling, issued an order making work in the shops compulsory, as Mr. Henderson had always wished it to be. "Eight boys," directed Mr. Harris, "should be employed in each of the four shops every day under the supervision of trained men. The selection of the boys should be regulated by the number of boys from each tribe, their natural aptitudes and their acquired habits. They might be permitted to choose, so far as should be consistent with having all the shops filled. Each one should be required to stay in the shops for two years, and each one on entering should be given five dollars, this to include all those already enrolled. But it was too late for these wise and long-desired rules to be effective. The mischief had been done; there was sullen inertia in the place of willing apprenticeship, and the reports are filled with complaints because of the few enrollments, especially in the much-demanded smith-

shop. In the report for October, 1838, twenty-two are listed as learning trades; eight in the tailor's shop, four in the smith-shop, and two in the wagon-shop; this would indicate more interest in "pantaloons" than in hunting utensils; but in 1839 there is a letter from Chief Richardville, a Miami, who orders his grandson Lewis Cass to be sent home at once. so great is his indignation that the boy should have been put to the tailor's trade when "he had intended to make him a clerk in his mercantile establishment!"

Nothing was accomplished without friction, owing perhaps to that which Mr. Henderson delicately designates "the nature of the case." It is well to examine this allusive phrase, for it was "full of a number of things," first among them being the fact that there were here collected together, hundreds of miles from their homes, a body of Indians varying at times from a hundred to two hundred; chief's sons, for the most part, of ages from ten or twenty odd years; some arriving in a completely savage state, others having a little English and the rudiments of education and training, all paying their way, as they thought; and all possessing parents with the childlike credulity of the average Indian; incapable of weighing evidence, swayed by all reports good or bad, but who had the final word as to the disposition of their children. Occasionally the boys, wearying of constant employment and supervision, ran off and after weeks of tramping would present themselves, hungry, ragged and dirty before the guardians, saying: "Behold how we are fed and clothed at the Choctaw Academy!" and straightway the government would be besieged with demands for the removal of Chief So and So's sons from the Kentucky school, with the reason, "It is a base place. Did we not see with our eyes?"

In the beginning, the complaint having been made that they received no word of their children so far away from them and so silent, special letter-writing regulations were enforced at the school, and the government established a postoffice at Great Crossings that the Indian boys' letters might be mailed without sending them several miles on horseback. It also franked their letters and added the duty of postmaster to Mr. Henderson's other cares. Soon a great hullabaloo arose both in the nation



and in the neighborhood, for the franked letters were post-marked "*Paid*" and the chiefs complained that they got so many that they were sure the boys were wasting the educational fund in mail-age, and some political appointees to adjacent postoffices wrote to Washington that Mr. Henderson was making more money out of the office than they could endure the thought of. A stamp of "*Free*" instead of "*Paid*," indicating much more work than pay for the postmaster alleviated the pangs of the latter party, but no one was ever sure whether that or any other explanation to the Indians was ever understood or accepted; they pondered these things in their hearts; and that they and their sons had long memories is proved by the way in which the constant shifting of the educational heads of the War Department and the contradictory orders emanating from them, tended to weaken the authority of the one unvarying official of the school.

Colonel Johnson being always in public life, his connection with so unusual an undertaking offered his political enemies a shining mark. They averred, of course, that he gave little and got much, that it was a money-making scheme entirely; and the poor gentleman's rueful comments upon this score are amusing. When the shops were most flourishing, it was the task of Mr. Henderson to find a market for the Indian-made goods; among his personal letters are those of his elder sons, who were merchants in Louisiana and Mississippi, offering to dispose of some of the wagons made in the shops; being a competent business man, he must have had successful sales, for all too soon arose the usual aspersions that he and Colonel Johnson were making money out of the poor Indian, and there were orders from Washington to the effect that Mr. Henderson must be so placed that he could be protected from such attacks. Even the farming experiment was not unmaligned; it was averred that Colonel Johnson's overseer was working Indians instead of negroes, and there was a futile attempt at scandal.

The discipline of the school seems to have been efficient, and the daily life remarkably regular and harmonious, but the attendance of pupils of such widely diverging ages and of such parallel stages of civilization produced serious problems.

That the grown young men could not be punished as small

boys, is manifested by a letter from what was left of an assistant teacher after he had attempted it during Mr. Henderson's absence. He declares it most inexpedient, nay *improper*; especially as they were bigger than he was. And he seems to have been in position to know. There appears to have been little difficulty with the smaller boys aside from the usual crimes: window-breaking and clothes-destroying, pilfering, breaking bounds, and misbehaving at table, which prove all boys brothers under their skins.

Colonel Johnson, in a worried letter concerning a breach then under discussion, says: "Out of every hundred, about ninety boys have been as harmless as infant children; about ten alone have given you and me any trouble. Eight or ten Choctaws in two years have given more trouble than all the rest in ten." Unfortunately this "trouble" was of a particularly distressing nature. The young would manage, though very rarely, to get whiskey; they would steal from their beds after inspection at night, trade their clothes, shoes, or books and get it from unscrupulous people,—generally from "bad negroes" or from such free negroes as could manage to elude the "patterol" and get access to the plantations. This would make them utterly mad and reckless, and they would raid the negro women's quarters, either openly "belching forth profanity" and breaking down the doors, when they would be overpowered and the magistrates sent for; or by stealth, when they might be received with hospitality, which resulted in the negresses being sold South; for the boys were always quickly discovered, and haled before the stricken and horrified superintendent. As early as 1828 the first disgraceful outbreak of a chief's son took place. Mr. Henderson promptly and solemnly dismissed him from the school after a public humiliation, and a report was sent in full to the nation and to Washington. This would seem to have been the proper and only course, especially as it was commended by the authorities, and applauded by the Indians, who communicated their sorrow and unqualified approval through their agent; moreover, there was no repetition of any like disorder for many years.

But Colonel Johnson, whose Brick House was kept by an educated quadroon woman, decreed that the knowledge of en-

suing cases should be "kept from the Government, as it would have a very bad effect and induce the belief that the boys feared neither God, nor devil, nor man." In the light of events it would seem to have been a serious error of judgment not to have pursued Mr. Henderson's straightforward policy. For the young reprobates, discovering that their iniquity had been holden from the eyes of the White Fathers in Washington and the Red Chiefs in the nation, waxed bold and malignant. Those who had been sent home made false statements to the nation and to the agents, and devoted their days to undermining the usefulness of the school of Kentucky. One, still at the academy, who had been admired and trusted, and given a chance to redeem himself, having first made an unsuccessful attempt to start a general mutiny, dared to write a letter of positively fiendish ingenuity, so enwrought is it of truth-tinctured falsehood, to which he appended his own name, with the forged signatures of twenty of his companions, and dispatched it to Washington. The fact that Colonel Johnson promptly explained the circumstances of its composition, and that the trustees wrote indignantly denying the statements that it contained, did not entirely dissipate the doubts of the nation; nor was it unproductive of misgivings in the mind of the Secretary of War.

It is a relief to turn from these subterranean matters to the pleasant daily life of the school proper, as it is written in contemporary letters of visitors and of the boys themselves, and in the reports of the trustees and the Superintendent.

There was very little idle time for mischief between six A. M. and nine P. M., when the curfew rang. The hours were employed in the arduous pursuits of the three R's, the English language and the "higher branches." There were the singing societies, the band-practice, the bandy-ball, the debating societies,—they were great speechmakers and debaters,—the shops, the gardens, the devotional exercises, and Adam Christi's temperance societies,—all are described, and it is remarked that "they are very fond of dancing." Colonel Johnson's returns from the capital were always days of festival; he would be met at the gates of the estate by the marching boys, banners flying, band playing, and escorted to the grove, where there would be

addresses of welcome and flourishes, followed by copious libations of watermelon, or feasts of roas'in' ears, or their seasonable equivalents. Sometimes certain larger boys who were studying surveying, were allowed to go out with responsible men to assist in simple surveys. Sometimes there were hunting parties in the woods; in summer they would visit the Sulphur Springs, (a fashionable resort owned by the Vice President) where the belles and beaux of the day and the young chieftains observed each other with mutual interest. There were the annual arrivals of scholars bringing news from home, and the annual farewells, exciting occasions, which enabled the directors to return to the nation "the lazy, the discontented, the vicious and the educated;" then the students were permitted to accompany their comrades as far as the Frankfort road. There were the visitors; sometimes great lawgivers and generals, who would be entertained with pomp and circumstance in the Colonel's mansion; sometimes, to the deep affliction of Mr. Henderson and Colonel Johnson, Choctaw or Cherokee delegations came to observe the progress of their sons. Then there was the great week of music and decorations when the annual examination was celebrated, the exercises being held on a woodland stage in the beautiful grove where General Lafayette had been entertained by the people of Georgetown. There is an account of a commencement week (which was published in a Kentucky newspaper and written by one Pushmatsha, a Choctaw, in which he described the proceedings of and the "good nature" of the audience of seven hundred. We also have a description of the one held in 1832, three thousand visitors being present, on which occasion, a number of the spectators, among them being the Catholic priest, Father Drew, took part in the catechising of the students. We may read some of the fiery orations then delivered and behold how little either time or creed affects the commencement essay of whatever colour or clime. Listen to Trahevne on history:—"Upon me a youth of the forest devolves the arduous yet pleasing task of addressing you. The occasion is attended with the diffidence of one who is speaking not in his native vernacular, and of one not in the habit of public speaking. If I should expose my ignorance and folly in this



presence, the exposure will be manifested in a cause worthy of a much greater sacrifice. \* \* \* \* Sirs, when we view the present situation of the Indians and cast our eyes to some of the enlightened nations of the earth, we behold in our imagination the awful destruction which awaits the aborigines of North America. Cheated, destroyed, misled since the white man first trod their soil, they have here been driven from the shores of the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and the next step will inevitably plunge them into the bowels of the Pacific Ocean. The Indians once stood lords of the Continent, but the white man brought him low; the Indians once called this continent their own, but they now call hardly a foot their own. And such now is their condition that many believe they can never become enlightened or civilized and that in the course of half a century they will be extirpated. Be that as it may, we, their sons, have minds, bodies, hands, hearts; and so long as the blood flows through our hearts and hands we will contend, if we be competent, to evince to the world that the Indian race is not obliterated. If we fail in the attempt, we must share the fate that awaits our race; but if we prove successful, may God smile upon us and bless us! His the will to make any nation happy or miserable. I conclude by asking those who are to be conspicuous men in their various tribes, to persevere and surmount the obstacles of fame, and climb the hill of science. May this wish produce members who shall resemble pillars of marble, strong, polished, fit to decorate and support the temple of union in which our tribes shall hereafter assemble. May we, when time shall have done with us, rest in our graves in tranquillity."

This one, by a small boy, if less grand and gloomy, certainly exhibits a lively sense of the expediency of morals.

#### *On Stealing.*

"I consider that stealing is one of the lowest and most degraded habits a man can get into. At first he will take small things, and then larger till he steals horses and large sums of money. He will go from town to town, and from city to city, till he goes throughout the United States and then he will turn

out to be a robber, plundering and murdering everyone that passes, and sometimes not getting a cent for his trouble.

"My young friends, if you steal you will not be respectable, and a person that steals will never be contented; he will always be uneasy, and therefore you had better let stealing alone.

"No more at present.

"TIMOTHY WALKER."

The years 1832 to 1838 would seem to mark the high tide of the school's prosperity and good results. The Choctaws boasted of its being their enterprise entirely, and there were quarrels and cabals for the war office to settle because the powerful Cherokees were thought to be getting more than their legitimate number into the academy. One document interests us, as it is evidently referring to the ancestors of Senator Owen of Oklahoma, whose wonderful mother was the granddaughter of a Cherokee chief of this name. It states that seven of the family of John Ross, the principal chief of the Cherokees, his sons and his political friends had got admission, and that all the Cherokees were clamoring to go to the school. In 1838, W. Armstrong, acting superintendent of the Western Territory, writes the Department that "The Choctaw Academy in Kentucky has educated many of the most prominent men in the Indian country. They are seen in their councils taking the deepest interest in the welfare and prosperity of their people." In the next year, the same man complains in bewilderment that he cannot get the chiefs to let their sons go; that in place of holding off a waiting list, that he cannot keep up the number required. "Three of the most prominent young men in the nation," he says, "Colonel Joe Harkins, Captain Robert Jones and Pierre Juzan, who were all at the academy, are bitter against it. Peter Folsom, a young man naturally well disposed, says he could learn there nothing of any importance. I am at loss for an explanation of their attitude." We, however, find an explanation of the unspeakable cause in a furious letter from Colonel Johnson, written before they were dismissed. "Whether I leave black or white," he says, "to keep my house in my absence, it is sacred by the Laws of the Constitution as if I were

in it myself!" "You and the magistrates", he reproaches, "were not sufficiently severe." But no severity on their part could have made up for the secret half-measures in connection with the youths' expulsion; and it is edifying to note that while the first offender of so many years back, was never heard from, every individual mentioned by Captain Armstrong as injuring the institution, had been expelled from the school *quietly* for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. At the instance of Colonel Johnson and Mr. Henderson, the Government ordered an investigation into the affairs and condition of the school in 1841, and matters were satisfactorily cleared up.

But the times were out of joint. The slanders of the evil young chiefs were among the least of several causes for the decline of the institution. The chiefest was that Mr. Henderson was flagging. His frail constitution had begun to break under his multitudinous duties (one wonders how he found time to attend to his own affairs, to be widowed, to remarry, and to add six children to his numerous first brood). Annoyed by unreasonable concealments and complaints, exhausted by myriad cares, feeling it necessary to rear his growing daughters in different surroundings, and desiring time to accumulate a possible inheritance for a wife and children much younger than himself, he besought Colonel Johnson to release him from his post at the Indian school; the Colonel replied in a panic; though, he declared, none but himself could keep the school together at all, he was involved in so many political webs that he would be helpless without Mr. Henderson's continued superintendence; and he adjured him by his loyalty to him, and to his own humanitarian principles, to continue his connection with it. To this request Mr. Henderson was constrained to accede, providing that he be permitted to spend half his time away, Colonel Johnson agreeing to engage a suitable man for sub-superintendent during his absence. His conditions were accepted, but the difficulty lay in procuring the man. Nobody with his patience, courage, longsightedness and deep scholarship could be found to supply him. "It is hard to delegate power", the minister of war had said: and it is; especially the power of the spirit. While the work went on very well after this change, it was then that most unpleasant im-

broglies took place unreported; that young men were returned to the nation whose words fouled the scholastic nest. The new head of Indian affairs believed that the Indians could be served best by schools in their own country; for the frontier was moving westward, and Kentucky was in his opinion too far out of touch with the nations. Colonel Johnson offered to wind up the school in two years; Mr. Henderson continued his position upborne by his missionary conscience and the feeling of duty unshirked which are admirably displayed in the following letter to the Indian office, (dated September, 1839):

"It is a matter of deep regret that the Indians cannot appreciate the advantages of education more highly than they do, and that all our labour and toil to cultivate the minds of their children should be so little regarded by them. It is true that many prejudices have existed against the school ever since it was located in Kentucky; they have got up from various quarters under various circumstances and have been managed with great art and skill, to the injury of the school; some by the boys themselves, who have become impatient and tired of close application to business or to study; some by designing men in the nation, and others by enemies to Indian reformation in the bosom of our own country. With all these we have had to struggle and combat for thirteen or fourteen years. As to the grounds of complaint heretofore exhibited against the school, we have this gratification, that upon investigation it has uniformly turned out that they have arisen from the most trivial circumstances, and have been more ideal than real. If the Indians of the North or South are so prejudiced against the school that they cannot consent to send more boys, I am at loss to ascertain upon what grounds their objections are predicated; for sure I am that the great boast of talents and education among the Choctaws and Pottawatamies is of persons who have been educated at this school. We always expected that many, like our own youths, would make but little or no use of an education after it was procured; moreover that many out of so large a number would be sent from the nations who had not sufficient intellect to become scholars, and that others who had, would upon their return home, fall back into their Indian customs and habits, and soon forget



what they had learned. I have regretted to observe one unfavourable trait in the Indian disposition to do justice to this institution i. e., that while they have been disposed to speak in the most unfavourable terms of a few whose minds were not capable of receiving instruction (*and had on that account to be sent home*) or of others who lacked moral courage to resist the temptation of vice, and thereby rendered themselves useless and ridiculous after their return home, they passed by unnoticed the meritorious and the many who have done credit to the school and been an honour to the nation and themselves. Although I have been so often mortified at the unreasonable complaints coming from that part of the nation from which I had reason to expect the most grateful acknowledgments, yet I have had the pleasing consolation on my part of realizing the great and incalculable advantages resulting from this institution to the Indian tribes. This school can boast of having produced a greater number of the best scholars and mechanics, of the best school teachers, and accountants, as well as of the best practical farmers and merchants, than any other institution of which I have knowledge. A smith-shop is conducted in the Choctaw nation by young men from this institution, and I am told that a boot and shoe shop is managed profitably in the Pottawatamie country by young men who learned at this place. I received a letter not long since from one of the young men who was educated here who informed me that he was employed to teach a school at \$500 a year; from another that he was acting as clerk on good terms. I have also heard from many others who are doing well, but those of whom I speak came to the school in a perfect state of nature. I have also been informed that many who became pious at this school still continue to conduct themselves in an orderly and Christianlike manner. Any information of this sort must be highly gratifying to one who has grown grey labouring to improve the condition of that devoted people. I have had the honour of presiding over this institution for the last fourteen years as Superintendent, during which time I have always entertained the deepest solicitude to impart every species of knowledge calculated to elevate the Indian mind above that state of savage degradation and superstitious darkness under which they have lain for so many ages

past. I have endeavored to sow the seeds of piety and benevolence, to lay the foundation of moral rectitude, to cultivate social, affectionate and brotherly temperament of mind, to stamp upon the young and all, the high reverence and responsibility we owe to the Creator. I have laboured incessantly to show the evil consequences of vice, and the end to which it leads. I have endeavoured by every means to contrast between good and bad actions, and to show the difference between good and bad men. I have studied the most useful course of education, — that which I thought best suited to their condition. This, I intend, shall be my course so long as I shall have the superintendence. Any instructions you may be pleased to give will be promptly obeyed."

Colonel Johnson proposed that Captain Armstrong visit the school upon his return from a journey to Washington, that he might make a report upon it to the chiefs whose minds had been poisoned by the lies of a few thwarted libertine boys. If favorable, it would have great weight with the nation and continue to make the school useful for its short remaining time. He also decided upon the retention, as its sub-superintendent, of Colonel Peter H. Pytchlynn, a Choctaw chief, whose education for the most part had been received here and who had been to and from the school as escort for arriving and departing scholars and interpreter for visiting delegations of chiefs. He believed him to be competent and devoted to the real interest of his people, and knew that he possessed their entire trust. Strangely enough, this young man has been immortalized by no less a personage than Charles Dickens. The latter encountered him when he was traveling on the boat from Cincinnati to Louisville in 1842, and gives a most entertaining account of his interview. Pytchlynn, who was no doubt a charter member of the Napoleon Society, sent up his card; which tickled Dickens' fancy immensely. He described the chief's handsome person and stately bearing, his excellent English, which he had not begun to learn until he was a man grown, and their discussion of literature,—(Cooper, Scott) archaeology, history, hunting, (when the chief laughed at Dickens' little joke about not damaging the buffaloes much) and politics. Pytchlynn was returning from Washington, and Dickens asked his opinion of Congress. He replied with a smile

that it lacked dignity in an Indian's eyes. They spoke of the recently completed gallery of portraits of Indian chiefs by Mr. Catlin, and our chief assured him that his portrait was among them, and afterwards sent Dickens a lithographed copy of it,—“very like, though scarcely handsome enough,” — which Dickens carefully preserved as a memento of his encounter with a Choctaw Indian in America.

The school kept on its apparently prosperous way, for even at the height of the stormiest times, affairs had gone smoothly on the surface, and the board of visitors reported the students “in fine health and condition, decently and comfortably clad, seemingly attentive and industrious, and so far as they knew or believed, better satisfied than at any former period when they were called upon to make report”. Colonel Pytchlynn was retained at a good salary, and administered his duties satisfactorily until March 14, 1842, when he resigned in favor of a Mr. Vanderslice, concerning whom we know nothing save that he had been in charge of schools in the Indian country.

In May, 1842, the number of pupils had greatly decreased and no more were received; the attention of the Government and of the nations being centered upon plans for the foundation of a school of similar aims and scope in the Southwest Choctaw territory, in furtherance of which incipient steps had been taken. This institution ceased to be a place of education for Indian youths in 1843. Of its final disintegration and its closing scenes, we have no account. Mr. Henderson, who was then living at his farm in Grant County near Crittenden, died there shortly after, in 1846. His soul must assuredly be with the saints. His body is under a modest shaft of marble in the family burying ground near the orchard of the old house, which is now occupied by his grandson. In the garret are some simple desks and benches, a handsome globe and surveying instruments, some old school-books and maps; and his great-grandchild is sung to sleep with a barbaric Indian lullaby. These appear to be the sole relics in Kentucky of Colonel Dick Johnson's once famous Choctaw Academy.

As for that distinguished man, Collins mentions in 1844 that he had “retired to his farm in Scott County, where he was

endeavoring to repair his private fortunes, which had been somewhat impaired by a too liberal hospitality and by his absorption in his duties to his country." He died in Frankfort in 1850, and was buried in the beautiful cemetery on the hill near the spot where O'Hara and his comrades keep the bivouac of the dead. His monument is sculptured in extraordinary bas-reliefs purporting to image forth the scenes of the death of Tecumseh at the hands of the dashing Colonel, who is magnificent in bearskin and Hessian boots.

His Brick House, and the school buildings, the shops, which produced the articles which caused "the liveliest pleasure to gleam from the countenance of President Van Buren and the Secretary of War, General Cass," the dining hall capable of seating two hundred, where the young aborigines were sometimes wont to be "so evilly disposed as to throw stones and coffee" at each other, and cut up the table-cloths, and carry off the knives to go trading with,—all were destroyed by fire. Even the grove has dwindled from its former noble proportions; and the last vestige of the Indian school has vanished; both from the land, and from the memory of the Oldest Inhabitant. Let us hope that the results of its labors have been less evanescent; such effort on the part of teachers and of taught should survive as a little of the leaven of civilization.





## SECONDARY EDUCATION IN OHIO PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR 1840.

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BY W. W. BOYD.

In the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the year 1899, Rev. A. D. Mayo shows Ohio's peculiar position in regard to education. Each of the thirteen original colonies of our country nourished its own class of people, differing from each other in creeds, languages, manners, and original national ideals. Kentucky and Tennessee were reproductions of Virginia and North Carolina, while Vermont was carved from a colony already admitted as a state.

But into Ohio, the fourth state admitted to the Union, immigrated "all sorts and conditions of people." Probably no state, ancient or modern, had ever received in so short a period fifty thousand people of such energetic mold and in many ways so widely varied as the Territory of Ohio at its admission to the Union in 1803. These people had come in groups from every portion of the Union and from every civilized nation of the world. They differed in religious, social, governmental and industrial ideals. Could a republican form of government weld them into a common people? The majority of the original settlers were an enterprising and intensely practical body of people. They had implicit trust in God and worshiped devoutly. They were seeking new homes and those things which were best for their homes. They believed in education as a means of development. They wanted freedom and believed in the subjection of individual ideals to the common ideal only. Could they find that common ideal? That is our problem to-day. In the midst of our individual clashes, it is becoming more and more difficult to find the common ideal. We are led hither and yon by vagaries and find only after bitter experiences that what we thought we wanted, being misled, we do not want, and what we thought we did not want is our true need. The differing ideals of our pioneer fathers in this new western country was to furnish the

actual test of republican government. The success of Ohio in its first half century became an object lesson for the making of the new republic beyond the Alleghenies. This paper is concerned only with the development of secondary education as one of the agencies in the fusion of the various classes of settlers.

Secondary education in this country has passed through three very distinct stages: first, the Latin-grammar school; second, the academy; third, the public high school. The aim of the old Latin-grammar school was to prepare the sons of the wealthy for college. In the history of our country, it belongs to the colonial days. About the time of the revolution the academy was beginning to assert itself. Its aim was to supply a more practical education to a larger class of our youth, including young ladies. It flourished until the middle of the last century. Now we have the public high school, offering some kind or all kinds of secondary training to the masses.

Therefore, we find that Ohio was settled within the period of the academy. There was little to bind the people together except a common state government. The state was settled in communities or patches. In local affairs each community began to work out its own ideals. Therefore, it was commonly found that higher education in one community differed widely from that in another. In settlements of New England people, the classical and literary ideal found expression in the new academy course. In settlements of Pennsylvania and New Jersey people, the Benjamin Franklin ideal of a practical education took shape. In settlements of southern citizens, the ideal of a finishing school, furnishing culture and manners asserted itself. It is not surprising, therefore, in the fusion which occurred later that we should find all these ideals blending and influencing the curricula of our high schools.

The organization of secondary schools proceeded from three sources. First, the church seemed to feel the necessity of making provision for higher education. All denominations entered into aggressive campaigns for secondary education either to strengthen the church or to conserve its membership. Out of many of these secondary schools grew the splendid colleges

which have dotted this fair commonwealth more profusely than any other has been. Second, itinerant preachers frequently established private schools for the instruction of the youth. As the preacher was usually a better educated man than the teacher of the subscription school, he took an interest in teaching what others could not, and the youth took an interest in him, because through him they came into knowledge. Private schools were established also by other educated men and some women in their own communities. Third, local pride and local needs frequently led wealthy citizens to organize an academy for the youth of their communities.

Many teachers employed in the subscription schools, which were the elementary schools of the early part of last century, had ability to teach some Latin and algebra and they gladly added these studies for the benefit of older students. While the schools taught by these teachers could hardly be denominated secondary schools, much secondary instruction was given through these schools as agencies.

The following list of secondary schools organized previous to the year 1840, with the dates of founding, will give some idea of the magnitude of the efforts made in the early days to promote education. The list shows the force of the clause in the Ordinance of 1787 and in the first Constitution of the state, "education shall forever be encouraged." In the light of what was accomplished, the clause does not seem to be so vague and meaningless as is sometimes charged. The schools are listed by counties. It is not presumed that the list is complete, as the writer's research was somewhat hasty and doubtless resulted in missing some records of schools. It is known, moreover, that many schools were organized and passed away of which we have no public record. It is hoped that this list may be enlarged and the record made more complete:

Ashtabula County:

Grand River Institute (Austinburg) ..... 1831

Athens County:

Academy of Ohio University (Athens)..... 1808

(First legislative act, 1802 — First building, 1807)

Auglaize County:

Mission School conducted by Quakers.....	1809
(Taught manual arts and agriculture)	
(Continued until 1832)	

Belmont County:

St. Clairsville Female Seminary.....	1836
St. Clairsville Institute and Teachers' Seminary.....	1837
(Boys' School)	

Brown County:

Ripley College Academy .....	1828
Ripley Female Seminary.....	1832

Butler County:

Dorsey Select School (Oxford).....	1812
Miami University Grammar School (Oxford).....	1818
Wallace's School (Hamilton) .....	1814
Hamilton Literary Society.....	1818
(A classical academy)	
Oxford High School for Girls.....	1830
Hamilton and Rossville Academy.....	1835
Furman's Private School (Middletown).....	1833

Champaign County:

Urbana Academy .....	1820
Urbana Female Seminary.....	1824

Clark County:

Smith's Academy (Springfield) .....	1814
Torbert's Grammar School (Springfield).....	1824

Clinton County:

Taylor's Latin School (Wilmington).....	1820
(Taylor was a Presbyterian minister)	

Columbiana County:

Salem Academy .....	1809
New Lisbon Academy .....	1814
Friends' School (Salem) .....	1822
Sandy Spring School.....	1839

Cuyahoga County:

Cleveland Academy .....	1821
Young Ladies' Academy (Cleveland).....	1825

Darke County:

Swallow Grammar Schools .....	1815
(Mr. Swallow was an itinerant preacher)	

Delaware County:

Morgan Academy (Delaware).....	1815
The Female Seminary (Delaware).....	1820
Quitman's Academic Grove (Delaware).....	1823
(Quitman became Governor of Mississippi)	



## Fairfield County:

Booth's Brick Academy (Lancaster).....	1820
Howe's Academy (Lancaster).....	1835
Lancaster Institute .....	1838
Greenfield Academy (Near Hooker's Station).....	1830

## Franklin County:

Dr. P. Sisson's Classical School (Columbus).....	1817
Lusk Academy (Columbus .....	1818
New Academy (Columbus).....	1820
The Columbus Academy .....	1820
A Female Academy (Columbus).....	1826
The Columbus Female Academy.....	1829
Trinity Church Schools (Columbus) .....	1820
A High School by Horace Wilcox (Columbus).....	1832
High School for Young Ladies (Columbus).....	1838
Worthington Academy .....	1820

## Gallia County:

Gallipolis Academy .....	1811
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## Geauga County:

Burton Academy .....	1804
Chardon Academy .....	1825
Parkman Academy .....	1839

## Hamilton County:

Reily's Academy (Columbia).....	1792
The Lancaster Seminary .....	1815
(Became Cincinnati College)	
Locke's Female Academy (Cincinnati).....	1823
Picket's Female Institution (Cincinnati).....	1826
Kinmont's Boys' Academy (Cincinnati).....	1827
Woodward Free Grammar School (Cincinnati).....	1826
(Afterward Woodward High School)	
Hughes High School (Cincinnati)	
Ohio Mechanics' Institute (Cincinnati).....	1828
Western Female Institute (Cincinnati) .....	1833
The Hentz Seminary (Cincinnati).....	1834
Institute of Science and Languages (Cincinnati).....	1836
Cincinnati Adelphi Seminary .....	Before 1830
Cincinnati Academy .....	Before 1830
St. Xavier Academy (Cincinnati).....	1831

## Harrison County:

Alma Mater Academy (New Athens).....	1824
(Afterwards Alma College—then Franklin)	
Cadiz Academy .....	1823

## Highland County:

Hillsboro Academy .....	1827
Oakland Female Academy .....	

**Huron County:**

Norwalk Academy .....	1826
Norwalk Female Seminary.....	1833
(Eliza Ware)	
A Female Seminary .....	1837
(Harriet Bedford)	

**Jefferson County:**

Buchanan Academy (Steubenville).....	1814
(Edwin M. Stanton a pupil)	
Well's Academy (Steubenville).....	1818
Ackerly Academy (Steubenville).....	1820
Scott Academy (Steubenville) .....	1830
Beatty's Seminary for Young Ladies (Steubenville).....	1829
(Afterwards Steubenville Seminary)	
Richmond Academy .....	1833
(Afterwards Richmond Classical Institute and then Richmond College)	

**Knox County:**

Sloan's Academy (Mt. Vernon) .....	1815
Kenyon College Academy (Gambier).....	1825
Martinsburgh Academy .....	1837

**Lake County:**

Huntington's Private School (Painesville) .....	1816
Painesville Academy .....	1829
Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary (Kirtland).....	1838

**Licking County:**

Granville Academy (Congregational).....	1827
Granville Female Institute (Baptist).....	1832
Denison University Academy (Baptist) (Granville).....	1831
Newark Seminary for Young Ladies.....	1837
Newark High School (Pay School).....	1838
Creek School (Etna) .....	1830

**Lorain County:**

Elyria High School .....	1831
(Maintained by a board of trustees)	
Oberlin College Academy .....	1833

**Mahoning County:**

Poland Academy .....	1835
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**Medina County:**

Sharon Academy .....	1836
Wadsworth Academy .....	1837
Abbeyville Academy .....	1837

**Miami County:**

Piqua Seminary .....	1818
Grammar School (Troy) .....	1826
Select School for Young Ladies (Troy).....	1838

## Montgomery County:

Dayton Academy .....	1807
Miss Dioneia Sullivan's Private School for Girls.....	1815
Glass' School (Dayton).....	1823
Inductive Academy (Dayton) .....	1820
Maria Harrison's School for Young Ladies.....	1832

## Muskingum County:

Stone Academy (Zanesville) .....	1808
Seminary for Young Ladies (Zanesville).....	1810
Moravian School for Young Ladies (Zanesville).....	1819
Zanesville Academy .....	1824
Howe's Seminary (Zanesville).....	1830

## McIntire Academy (Zanesville) .....

Putnam Classical Institute .....	1836
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(Afterwards Putnam Female Seminary)

Muskingum College Academy (New Concord).....	1837
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## Perry County:

Somerset Academy .....	
Weddell Select School .....	
St. Mary's Academy .....	1830
(Now St. Mary's of the Springs — Dominican)	

## Pickaway County:

Circleville Academy .....	Before 1837
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## Ross County:

Chillicothe Academy .....	1808
(A Lancasterian School)	

Chillicothe Female Seminary .....	1820
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## Scioto County:

Wheeler Academy (Portsmouth) .....	1818
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## Seneca County:

Seneca County Academy (Republic) .....	1836
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## Stark County:

Canton Female Seminary .....	1838
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## Summit County:

Western Reserve University Academy (Hudson).....	1827
Joyce's Private School (Akron).....	1836
Mrs. Dodge's Private School (Akron).....	1836
Akron High School conducted by Miss B. Hawkins (Private)..	1837
Cuyahoga Falls Institute.....	1837
Richfield Academy .....	1836

## Warren County:

Robinson Grammar School (Lebanon).....	1810
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## Washington County:

Muskingum Academy (Marietta).....	1797
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Institute of Education (Marietta) .....	1830
Marietta Collegiate Institute.....	1833
(Afterwards Marietta College)	

### Wyandot County:

Mission School at Upper Sandusky.....	1823
(Manual training, agriculture, domestic science)	

The federal census of 1840 gives the relative standings in regard to secondary education of the states in the Ohio Valley as follows:

Kentucky .....	116	academies and grammar schools with 4906 scholars
Ohio .....	73	academies and grammar schools with 4310 scholars
Indiana .....	54	academies and grammar schools with 2946 scholars
Illinois .....	42	academies and grammar schools with 1967 scholars

At the same time Michigan had 12 academies and grammar schools with 485 pupils and Wisconsin two with 65 pupils.

From this list of schools, it will be inferred very readily that the nearest type to the old colonial Latin-Grammar school was found probably in the preparatory departments of the early Ohio colleges. It was the distinct province of the Latin-Grammar school to prepare boys for college. Colonial secondary history does not repeat itself in Ohio. The boy from the Latin-Grammar school of one of the early New England colonies was looking forward to a college course in the old country. Very few Ohio youths in the early days of our state ever thought of leaving the state for education. They were content with what the academy could give them or they sought the college courses of the few home colleges. The local academy offered a broader course of study than the preparatory course of the college. But the latter led finally to better training as well as to more specialized work. Consequently, we find in the preparatory departments of the early colleges the narrow classical course of the New England Latin-Grammar school.

It is evident that secondary education was maintained during the first fifty years of the existence of Ohio largely through the instrumentality of academies and private schools. Certain localities seemed to give an especial impetus to these schools. Among them may be mentioned Delaware, Lancaster, Burton,



Columbus, Cincinnati, Steubenville, Norwalk, Dayton, Zanesville, Chillicothe, Akron and Marietta. These seem to have been centers toward which focused the endeavors of New England teachers and the early graduates of Ohio University and from which radiated an atmosphere of learning which permeated and encouraged other portions of our state. A writer of the history of Fairfield County gives the following account of secondary education in Lancaster which may fairly picture other centers:

"The first advance to better educational facilities in Lancaster was in the erection of the Brick Academy (Booth's) on Wheeling St. by a number of the most wealthy citizens. The building was erected shortly before 1820. Mr. Whittlesy was the first man to teach in it. After him, and about 1825, the late John T. Brasee taught a six months term. After Mr. Brasee, Professor Howe occupied it for a number of years, when the trustees sold the building to Dr. Bigelow for a private residence sometime between 1834 and 1839.

"After the abandonment of the Brick Academy, Professor Howe built a frame house on Mulberry St. and reopened his school. This school was known for many years as Howe's Academy and was conducted about ten years. In this school and as pupils of Mr. Howe, General and Secretary Sherman, P. B. Ewing, Boyle Ewing, J. C. Kinkead, and many others of Lancaster's young men and young ladies attended.

"In an old copy of the Lancaster Gazette, bearing the date of July 5, 1838, appears the following remarkable notice:

"Lancaster Institute, for the instruction of young ladies, corner of Columbus and Mulberry Sts., conducted by Mrs. and Mr. McGill, A. B., R. H. A. The principals beg leave to announce to their friends, and the people generally, that they have opened the above institution.

"The course of instruction comprises the Latin, French and English languages; music and singing on the Logerian system; drawing and the elements of perspective; geometry; fruit, flower, figure and landscape painting, in oil and water colors; oriental painting on paper, satin, velvet, and wood; Grecian and glass painting: Japaning, mezzotinting and transferring; orthography; reading; English grammar; composition and letter writing; history, ancient and modern; writing on a free beautiful and easy system, in which legibility and elegance are combined; the ornamental hands; arithmetic and book-keeping on an improved system adapted to domestic accounts; geography, use of globes, construction of maps; astrology; mythology; chronology; practical chemistry, as it relates to the useful arts dependent on that science; natural and moral philosophy: botany, with instructions for drawing and coloring plants, flowers, etc.; plain and ornamental needle and fancy work."

The Greenfield Academy, at one time an important institution near Lancaster, was built by Jacob Claypool for school and church purposes about the year 1830. Dr. Williams, a ripe scholar and a well-known writer and author, taught the school about ten years, and many of the leading men of the county were educated there.

The early struggles in the establishment of secondary education received some encouragement from the experiments of Dayton Academy. It was incorporated in 1807. In 1808, a two-story brick building was erected on the lot north of the Park Presbyterian Church. Wm. Smith, the first teacher, according to his contract, proposed to teach "reading, writing, arithmetic, the classics and the sciences." Mr. Smith, after a period of about ten years as principal, was succeeded by Gideon McMillan, a graduate of the University of Glasgow, who was according to his own advertisement an accomplished scholar.

This school presents an interesting chapter in its attempt to make use of the Lancasterian or "mutual instruction" system of education. Joseph Lancaster, an Englishman, was deeply impressed with this system, when a Dr. Bell imported it from India to England. Mr. Lancaster opened a school at Southwark; but Dr. Bell, claiming to be the founder of the system, supplanted Lancaster. At that, Lancaster, disheartened, emigrated to the United States in 1818. He soon aroused a wide interest in his system. The trustees of the Dayton Academy were enamored of the Lancasterian method and adopted it for use in their school. It was necessary to build a new building especially adapted to the purpose. This they did just north of the old academy building, erecting a brick structure sixty-two by thirty feet in size. The floor was of brick and heated by "convolving flues" underneath.

The school was opened as the Dayton Lancasterian Academy in the fall of 1820. It was claimed for this system that by promoting scholars in each class to the position of monitor on the ground of good scholarship and conduct, one teacher, who needed only to act as a general supervisor, might control and instruct five hundred scholars, thus saving great expense. The plan soon failed in Dayton as it did in other places. The lesson

which we learn from such experiments may moderate our enthusiasm for fads.

One resolution passed by the board of trustees in 1821, in my judgment, would not be without service, if it could be enforced to-day, viz., "That any scholar attending the Lancasterian school who may be found playing ball on the Sabbath, or resorting to the woods or commons on that day for sport, shall forfeit any badge of merit he may have obtained and twenty-five tickets; and, if the offense appears aggravated, shall be further degraded as the tutor shall think proper and necessary; and that this resolution be read in school every Friday previous to the dismissal of the scholars."

No public examinations were conducted in the Lancasterian schools, as each recitation constituted an examination and the public were welcome at all times.

The histories of two schools at St. Clairsville in Belmont County fairly present what has occurred in many communities of our state, viz., dreams have been dreamed only to prove their own effervescence. St. Clairsville, being on the great National Pike, had begun very early to picture its own future glory and to prepare for it by establishing educational institutions. When railroads were built, it was soon discovered how inaccessible St. Clairsville is.

St. Clairsville Female Seminary was established in 1836. Its three-year course of study may be taken as a fair index of what was going on in other academies.

Primary year: Reading, spelling and defining, writing, mental and written arithmetic, English grammar, modern and ancient geography, history of the United States; modern and ancient history; improvement of the mind; geography of the heavens; Sullivan's political class book; natural philosophy; botany.

Junior year: English grammar, rhetoric, human physiology, Euclid's geometry, chemistry, astronomy, philosophy of natural history, intellectual philosophy, algebra.

Senior year: Outline of geology, ecclesiastical history, logic, natural theology, moral philosophy, Butler's analogy, evidences of Christianity.

The Latin, Greek and French languages and painting and drawing were offered as optional studies.

Similarly Abbeyville in Medina County had its dream. The historian of Medina County has this to say:

"In 1837 or thereabouts, Abbeyville had reached the highest point in all its greatness. The village gave great promise at that day, as much so perhaps as any other village in the county five years after its origin. It was in the last mentioned year that an effort was made, mainly through the influence of Solomon F. Holcomb, to institute at Abbeyville either a branch of Oberlin College or an educational enterprise of a similar character. Professor Amos Dresser of Oberlin came to Abbeyville for the purpose of taking the initiatory steps looking to the founding of a college. Quite a large class was obtained, and for a number of months the future of the little village was cloudless and serene. The principal object, or one of them, upon which the institution was founded was a scheme to promote manual labor. The education to be furnished was industrial in its nature, a scheme which since that day has developed the industrial universities and agricultural colleges scattered throughout the United States. But, alas for Abbeyville! the attempt proved abortive, and the good-looking professor took his departure."

No account of secondary education would seem to be complete without a mention of the first academy established in the Northwest Territory. This was the old Muskingum Academy in Marietta. Although a Mr. Reily is said to have opened an academy in Columbia earlier, it is probable that Mr. Reily's school never attained more than an elementary school character.

There was a meeting of Marietta people held on April 29, 1797, for the purpose of considering measures for promoting the education of youth. General Rufus Putnam was chosen chairman and Return Jonathan Meigs clerk. It was resolved "that a committee of six be appointed to prepare a plan of a house suitable for the instruction of youth, and religious exercises, and to make an estimate of the expense and the most suitable means of raising the necessary moneys, and to fix upon a spot whereon to erect the house, and report on Saturday next at three o'clock p. m."

On Saturday, May sixth, the committee reported a plan. an estimate of cost of one thousand dollars and a method of raising the money. At a meeting a week later, it was decided



to call the school Muskingum Academy. The man subscribing the largest amount was General Rufus Putnam. His gift was three hundred dollars. If there were no other reason for remembering Gen. Putnam, this first largest gift to the cause of education above the elementary school in the Northwest Territory should entitle him to a lasting place in our affections. The subscription not being large enough, eighteen pews were sold to the highest bidders. These pews could be occupied by the purchasers on all public occasions.

The following articles adopted by the board of trustees relate to the education in the academy:

"ARTICLE 3. — It shall be the duty of the preceptor to teach the pupils writing, reading, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and the Latin and Greek languages; the different branches in which a pupil is to be taught to be signified to the preceptor by the parent or guardian of the pupil."

"ARTICLE 4. — It shall be the duty of the preceptor to pay due attention to the language and manners, particularly, and to the deportment of the scholars generally, that they may be instructed to be civil and obliging to each other, and respectful everywhere to all."

"ARTICLE 5. — It shall be the duty of the preceptor to cause some or all of the pupils to learn select, entertaining and instructive speeches and dialogues, adapted to their several capacities and ages which they shall pronounce in the academy before such audience as may attend on the quarter day, which shall be the last day of every quarter."

"ARTICLE 7. — The hours of tuition shall commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon and end at twelve, and commence at two in the afternoon and end at five, except during the winter when they shall begin at half past one and end at half past four, at which time the preceptor shall cause the bell to be rung."

"ARTICLE 8. The prices of tuition to be paid to the preceptor for each quarter shall be: for reading and writing two dollars, for arithmetic, English grammar, the first rudiments of astronomy, and geography two dollars and fifty cents. Latin, Greek and mathematics, three dollars."

In addition a small fee was charged for repairs on the building.

The academy was opened in 1800. David Putnam, a graduate of Yale University, was the first teacher. The academy building was sold at auction October 8, 1832.

Another school, which may be called the successor of Muskingum Academy, was established in Marietta in 1830 as the

Institute of Education. It embraced an infant school, a primary school, a ladies' seminary and a high school. In 1833, the high school was chartered as the Marietta Collegiate Institute and this institution was chartered in 1835 as Marietta College. The college at once established a preparatory department which was continued until last year.

The ideals from which our academies were formed would not seem to contribute great enthusiasm for education. The eastern patterns, after which our western academies were copied, find some comment in the remarks of an early teacher in Newark, New Jersey, Mr. Nathan Hedges. He says:

"In 1807, I became a pupil in the New Warren Academy in Morristown, then under the direction of James Stevenson, a Scotchman. The school was both English and classical, and may be justly regarded as a favorable type of the best schools of that day.

"In the English department, the simplest elementary branches received but little attention.

"Writing was well taught by an accomplished master."

"Arithmetic was taught from Dilworth, a book making no allusion to a decimal currency, and having little or no adaptation to the ordinary requirements of business. Arithmetic was taught here about as ineffectually as in other schools. When a boy left school and was required to make almost any simple business calculation, he failed, giving the stereotyped reason, "There a'nt no such sums in my book."

"Reading was taught mechanically."

"English grammar could hardly be said to be taught in this school. I doubt whether the teacher knew anything about it.

"Geography was not taught. I think there was neither book, map nor globe in the school.

"Book-keeping. This was a branch taught at the Academy by a master who was a good book-keeper, but who had no proper ideas of teaching.

"Admission to the classical department was by promotion from the English department. Here English branches were still pursued; but the emphasis was upon Latin. The text books were poor. Memorizing was the great method."

"In reading, forty or more would stand up and read in concert."

Private schools for teaching secondary branches were opened by itinerant ministers or young college graduates from New England, or by educated men and women who had settled in these pioneer districts and could leave their business or homes

for a portion of the time. Their pupils were obtained by announcements in the public press, of which the following advertisements, taken from an Akron paper, will show the method:

"May 20, 1836.—M. and A. C. Joyce respectfully inform the inhabitants of Akron and vicinity that they have opened a school in South Akron where they will instruct a few young ladies in Arithmetic, Orthography, History, Composition, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Botany, Rhetoric, Chemistry, Drawing in Crayon, Mezzotinto, Pencil, India Ink, Japaning, Flower Painting; etc. Terms made known on application."

"July 27, 1836.—Mrs. Susan E. Dodge announces", etc. Term eleven weeks. Each study from \$2.50 to \$5.00.

"Jan. 2, 1837.—Miss B. Hawkins announces the course of study for the Akron High School," etc. This seems to have been a chartered school.

Among the private schools was Wheaton Select School, maintained in the basement of Trinity Church, Columbus, just opposite the State Capitol on Third street. A pupil, twenty years after leaving this school, wrote:

"When that old fence was built around  
The State-House yard you know,  
'Twas there we played our school-boy games  
Upon the lovely green,  
And happier hearts—some silent now—  
The world has never seen;  
'Twas Wheaton's school just o'er the way,  
Methinks I hear the bell  
That called us from our sports and play,  
Its ringing seemed a knell."

One of the interesting schools was the Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary founded at Kirtland, Ohio (Lake County), in 1838, of which Asa D. Lord was principal for eight years. It seems that about 1836 a professor, C. E. Stowe, of Lane Theological Seminary, was making preparations for a tour of Europe. The General Assembly of Ohio was informed of this contemplated trip and immediately passed a resolution asking Professor Stowe to investigate secondary education in Europe. In reporting afterwards to the General Assembly Professor Stowe recommended:

1. That the science of teaching should be a branch in academies and high schools.

2. That a model school for practice should be organized.

3. That there should be a teachers' seminary organized near the center of the state.

These recommendations took root partially in the organization of the school at Kirtland.

Some of the elementary schools fulfilled the purpose of secondary schools by providing a place of association for the young people and in the development of discipline and self-control. Dr. Thos. Cowgill gives the following account of a school taught about a mile from his father's residence, which was near the town of East Liberty, Logan County:

"During the winter of 1817-18 a school was taught by the late Judge Daniel Baldwin about one mile south of our house in a house similar to our dwelling except there were some joists and an upper floor. This school was largely attended by the young men and women of our neighborhood—a number of them coming four miles to school. There were at least ten young men attending this school over six feet high and large in proportion and weighing about two hundred pounds each. There were about the same number of young women attending the school. And those large and tall young men exhibited more signs of humility than some of the smaller scholars; for in walking across the floor they must bow or they would bump their heads against the joists every time. A number of these young men and women were in their spelling books.

The school books consisted of Webster's Spelling Book, Lindley Murray's Works, the Introductory English Reader, Sequel, the New Testament, with Walsh and Pike's Arithmetic."

There were certain valuable courses offered generally in the early secondary schools of Ohio which seem to have fallen into disfavor. These were music, drawing and painting, religion and morals, and public rhetoricals. The quarter-day presentation of dialogues, debates, "Pieces", and essays served an excellent purpose in arousing interest in the school and in awakening public discussion on questions of the day.

A few facts stand out rather prominently. It is evident the people believed in a school higher than the elementary. Every community considered, as a first essential to its own pros-



perity, the founding of an academy. While the secondary schools offered preparation for college, practical studies were receiving especial recognition. Education was provided for young women as well as young men.

It can not be doubted that the very generous contribution of leaders which Ohio has made to the affairs of the nation became possible through the training of the secondary schools. Whatever criticisms we may make upon the crude beginnings of secondary education in the West, it must be admitted that the early academies furnished the opportunities for earnest effort, intellectual struggle and moral discriminations which, after all, are the qualities of the true man.



## OHIO HISTORY AND NATIONAL HISTORY.

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### OHIO HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Ohio History Teachers' Association held in April, 1915, a committee was appointed to consider the publication of one or more volumes pertaining to the history of the state. This committee decided that it would be wise to make a beginning by collecting a series of extracts from the sources in such a way as to make clear the part the state has taken in important phases of the history of the country at large. A handy volume of such material, it was believed, would afford excellent collateral reading for high school students of United States history, and would serve to quicken the student's appreciation of the history of his own state without danger of giving distorted ideas of the state's importance, such as might result from studying purely local history. It was believed that high school teachers would welcome such an addition to the collateral reading resources of their classes, and that the volume would not be without attractions for the citizen who is interested in the history of nation and state. The work of preparing the volume is now well under way, and it is hoped that it may be completed without undue delay. The collaborating committee is composed of Professor J. E. Bradford, Miami University, Professor C. L. Martzoff, Ohio University, Miss Juliette Sessions, East High School, Columbus, Professor E. J. Benton, Western Reserve University, and Professor H. C. Hockett, Ohio State University, chairman.

Chiefly to give an idea of what might be done in such a book, three members of the committee prepared papers which were read at a session of the Association held October 21st, 1915. The main portion of these papers are given here. The first is by Mr. Bradford, the second by Mr. Hockett, and the last by Miss Sessions.

## THE HISTORY OF OHIO AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF OUR NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The study and teaching of history within our state has had two fundamental faults. One has been a study and teaching of national history that did not give due consideration to those great facts concerning the growth of our state that immediately relate to our national development. The other has been the study and teaching of local history without setting forth its relationship to our national development. Either of these methods has value, but if the relationship be duly established, this composite method will prove doubly valuable in quickening interest and imparting a fuller comprehension of our national growth. Let us for a little consider how this relationship evinces itself, to the time of the admission of Ohio to statehood.

We pass over the geography of Ohio as a part of the great valley which has served not only as a trough through which civilization has poured from the Atlantic Coast Plain to the Great Prairies and Far West, but also as the seat of a great middle empire, which, by certain geographical bonds, is related to the area that lies to the eastward of the Appalachians. We likewise pass over the aboriginal period, with its Mound Builders and their abundant remains, and the Ohio Indians, of whom Smith has left us such an interesting account, and who had a part in excluding the French until the English were ready to contest for its possession, and who aided in holding the settlements east of the mountains until political institutions were organized, contributed to colonial unification, and both stimulated trade and prepared fields ready for cultivation by the first comers into the wilderness.

Let us note first the era of discovery and exploration. Who were the white men who uncovered or made known Ohio to the world? Let it be borne in mind that long before the coming of the actual settlers the forest paths of this region had been threaded by the white man. Who were these first comers? Was it the French La Salle in 1669-1670, when he crossed, as some hold, from Lake Erie to the Ohio and descended it to the Falls? Or was it the English governor of Virginia, who, with his com-

panion Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, stood on what they regarded as the divide between the Atlantic and the Ohio flowing streams and looked upon what he thought to be the waters of Lake Erie? True, it was but a mist he saw, induced, perhaps, by a too liberal draught of champagne in emptying a bottle in which to enclose the formal claim to the Ohio Valley in the name of the King of England. Be that as it may, he saw in a very real sense the Ohio region, and wrote to the English authorities calling attention (1) to the accessibility of the Ohio Valley and Lake Erie from Virginia; (2) to the menace of French occupation of that region; (3) to the danger of losing the fur trade thereby; (4) to the desirability of establishing military posts on Lake Erie. This was in 1716, more than thirty years prior to actual attempt at English occupation.

And then there were those explorers, the traders, chief of whom was Croghan, with their post Pickawillany, and Conrad Weiser, the Moravian missionary, Captain Trent and Christopher Gist, the agents of the Ohio Company, all of whom threaded these Ohio forests. How interesting is their story! How well they did their work in making known this region is shown by Franklin's letter of 1754 in which he speaks of this Ohio area as "the finest in North America for the extreme richness and fertility of the land, the healthy temperature of the air and mildness of the climate," and in which he proposes, among other things, the establishment of a colony on the Scioto, "the finest spot of its bigness in all North America," which he affirms "has the particular advantage of sea coal in plenty (even above ground in two places) for fuel when the woods shall be destroyed."

The relation of Ohio to the French and Indian War is so apparent as to require little more than suggestion. It had its place in causing the outbreak of that war, which was fought, in part, for the possession of the Ohio Valley; it lay adjacent to one principal seat of military operations; the attitude of its population was a determinate factor in the issue of the struggle in the West, while as a result of the war the Ohio region became definitely recognized as the possession of the English crown.

"But," says the old-time history teacher, "you have now reached your limit, for how will you connect Ohio with the be-



ginning of the American Revolution, with its Stamp Act Congress, its Continental Congress, its Boston Tea Party, its Boston Massacre, and its Lexington and Concord? Surely the causation of that momentous struggle lay within the folk on the Atlantic seaboard." Let us enquire. Scarcely had the Treaty of Paris been signed when there broke out on the frontier that notable Indian uprising which bears the name of Pontiac's Revolt, in which the natives of Ohio played an important part, which brought into Ohio some hundreds of white captives, and which made Ohio the scene of certain military operations. This war had several important results. It led to the issuance of the Proclamation of 1763, which, in theory if not in fact, temporarily stopped westward migration beyond the crest of the Alleghanies. This was followed in 1774 by the passage of the Quebec Act, which transferred all the region northwest of the Ohio to the Province of Quebec, and placed it under a more highly centralized administration. It further led to the sending of troops to America, one purpose of which was to protect the frontier. The burden of maintaining these troops was to be laid in part upon the colonies, hence the necessity of raising a revenue in America. Here, then, we have the main causes of the revolt as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It should be added that, in 1774, and upon Ohio soil, a body of officers connected with Dunmore's expedition united in setting forth the grievances of the colonists against the mother country.

In the revolutionary struggle itself, while the area immediately embraced within Ohio did not contribute any soldiers to the patriot ranks, it was nevertheless the scene of numerous military expeditions under both British and American leadership. It was the condition north of the Ohio that led to the conception and execution of plans for the conquest of British posts in the West. This resulted in the organization of the territory northwest of the Ohio into Illinois County and the establishment of civil administration. It was the military conquest and civil administration of this region that, at the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, secured the Mississippi River, rather than the crest of the Appalachians, as the western boundary of the United States.

In the period 1783-1803, when Ohio evolved from a wilderness into a state, we see her relation to our national history becoming even more intimate. It was the presence of the squatter within the bounds of Ohio prior to 1787 in such numbers as to be reckoned by thousands, causing the government to make an abortive attempt to exclude them, which led the old Congress of the Confederation to provide for civil government by the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, which, when adopted by the first Congress under the constitution, became a sort of postscript to the constitution, and the foundation of our colonial system. The problem of the public domain led to the passage by Congress of certain land laws. The problem of securing an outlet to the world's markets for the surplus products of Ohio farms, as also those of adjacent communities, led to a series of negotiations that climaxed in the purchase of Louisiana. Then, too, Ohio illustrates in an unprecedented way the process of Americanization. Into this area was first extended the Virginia-Pennsylvania frontier with its Scotch-Irish squatter class with their characteristic indifference to legal restrictions. Then came the New England Puritans into the valley of the Muskingum, the Western Reserve, and, in a more individualistic way, into practically all parts of Ohio. After these came the representatives of all the middle states: English Quaker, Dutch religionists of various creeds—Lutherans, Reformed, Dunkards, and United Brethren—and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who settled the Miami Valley. Then there were the Pennsylvanians, Marylanders, Virginians, and Kentuckians, who flowed into the Virginia military district. From the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky came numbers of English, Scotch-Irish, and French Huguenot descent who were dissatisfied with the institution of slavery. Here also came some direct from England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, and France. These several elements mingled and commingled, affecting each other and being affected by each other. And when, in 1803, having the requisite population, Ohio was admitted to statehood, it could be said of her as of no other state until that time, that she was the typical American state, the first of her class.

Thus and in other ways may the history of Ohio be used to illustrate our national history during the period of early settlement.

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SOURCE ILLUSTRATIONS OF OHIO'S RELATIONS TO NATIONAL  
HISTORY 1816-1840.

The close of the War of 1812 is regarded as the beginning of a new era in our national history, because interest then shifted from foreign relations to problems of domestic development. The termination of the war marks also the close of the pioneer period in the upper Ohio Valley, and it was, in large measure, the rapid development of Ohio and her sister commonwealths that gave character to the next quarter-century. The discussions of internal improvements, the tariff, and banking, which filled these years show the influence of the rising West, for the demand for improved means of transportation and protection to home industries was most insistent there. The history of Ohio in this epoch therefore illuminates national history in an unusual degree.

With a little care in selecting and arranging material, and a few explanatory notes, the sources can be made to tell the story of Ohio's relations to these developments vividly and interestingly. Some idea of what might be done may be obtained from the few extracts which follow. The first is taken from the message of Governor Worthington, in 1816. While by no means the first evidence of interest in internal improvements, it serves very well as an expression of Ohio opinion at the time when Congress was discussing the Bonus Bill:

"\* \* \* Navigable rivers and public roads as the means of conveying the surplus produce of the country to market, are of the first importance to the state. Notwithstanding the great fertility of our soil, if the surplus produced from it, beyond our own consumption, does not command a price sufficient to reward the husbandman, the spring to industry is in a great measure destroyed."

New York had hoped that the passage of the Bonus Bill would lead to federal aid in the building of the Erie Canal. The veto of that bill by Madison resulted in the determination to go

ahead with the project as a state enterprise, but during the winter of 1816-1817 New York sought aid not only from the federal government, but also from Ohio. De Witt Clinton wrote to Governor Worthington urging that as the citizens of Ohio would share in the benefits of the canal they should also participate in the expense. Worthington transmitted the letter to the legislature with this comment:

"The advantages of such a water communication to the state of Ohio generally, and in a particular manner to the northern part of it, are so manifest, that I am persuaded you will not hesitate to give to the subject that careful examination its great importance requires \* \* \*. It will become the duty of the people of Ohio, to give all the aid in their power towards effecting an object in which they are so deeply interested."

From this time on the people of Ohio took a keen interest in the New York canal, but that interest led eventually, not to a subsidy, but to a system of connecting canals. Worthington's successor, Governor Brown, stated the argument for roads and canals in words which echo Calhoun's speech on the Bonus Bill:

"Our productions, which form our only great resource, are generally of that bulky and ponderous description, as to need every easement in conveyance, that we can afford. Experience is a faithful monitor, and the millions expended for transportation during the late war, may teach an useful lesson \* \* \*. Roads and canals are veins and arteries to the body politic, that diffuse supplies [sic], health, vigor and animation to the whole system \* \* \*. Nature strongly invites us to [such] enterprise \* \* \*."

Interest in the Erie canal was by no means confined to that part of Ohio which would be nearest its western terminus. Even the remote regions saw in a connecting system a promise of a new outlet for produce which would have great advantages over the old route down the Ohio and Mississippi. The issue of the *Inquisitor and Cincinnati Advertiser* for July 24, 1820, for example, contains a two-column editorial on the progress of the Erie project, while an editorial in the next issue declares:

'Should Ohio imitate [New York and build a connecting system of canals] \* \* \* we should be able to send the immense surplus produce from nearly every part of our rich and fertile territory to the city of New-York at less expense than we can now transport it to New-Orleans,



and be able to return with groceries and other heavy articles of common necessity at one third of the expense we are now compelled to pay for the transportation of the same up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers  
\* \* \*

Another phase of western opinion was the demand for federal action. In the *Inquisitor* for October 30, 1821, a writer who signs himself "H." discussed the importance of removing obstructions to the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and the improbability of success through state action, as shown by the failure of the plans for a canal around the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville, through interstate jealousy and mismanagement:

"The immense benefit that would arise to the nation from an unobstructed navigation of these two immense rivers of the Western country, the Ohio and Mississippi, is so palpable to every person acquainted with the geography of our country and with the state of the population west of the Alleghany mountain, that I should suppose the subject worthy of the consideration of congress. \* \* \* [The West] must now look to the enlightened advocates of internal improvements in the national legislature for assistance."

"Dion," writing on "The Interests of the West," in the *Cincinnati Gazette* during the summer of 1819, was more insistent. He complains that while the West is the source of much of the federal revenue, it receives too small a share of the expenditures, and demands improvement of western commercial outlets at the hands of Congress:

"Let any person cast his eye on the map and trace the line formed by the Apalachicola, and the Allegheny, into Pennsylvania, and thence to lake Erie, and he will see at once what proportions of country *pay* and what *receive* the national revenue. — On the one side are cities, harbors, roads, public works of every description, and an old, well cultivated country; on the other, an immense wilderness, interspersed with a few infant, tho' flourishing towns, but generally peopled by emigrants yet struggling with the hardships of first settlements, felling the forests around them, building their rude cabins, toiling industriously for subsistence [sic], with no money to spare even for the comforts of domestic life, much less for those public improvements so important to the prosperity of any country. From every corner of both these sections the public revenue is collected, and where is it distributed? \* \* \*

" \* \* \* This we do expect, and have a right to claim, that some part of the revenue shall be employed on public improvements among us. Several objects of this sort might be mentioned; I will name one, perhaps of more immediate consequence than any other; it is a continuance of the National Road from Wheeling to St. Louis. \* \* \* Besides the money distributed in payment for the labor, it would lay open to market the very heart of this country, and scatter riches along its sides throughout its whole extent. None, who have not experienced the difficulty of our roads can form any idea of its importance. \* \* \*"

The effect of inferior transportation facilities on prices of western produce can be made clear by a few quotations. During the winter, when the navigation of the Mississippi was closed, prices soared in the New Orleans market. When the spring freshets came, the vast quantities of produce which reached the city glutted the market and depressed prices, often to a point below the cost of production. *The Supporter* (Chillicothe) of January 13, 1819, prints the following extract from a letter written at New Orleans on December 21, 1818:

"Flour very scarce and is worth 15 and 20 dollars per barrel, as in quality. Pork is also scarce and sells at 20 and 23 \* \* \*."

On the sixteenth of the following June the same paper quotes New Orleans prices of May 24 as follows:

"Flour, 1st quality, 5.50 per bbl.  
Flour, 2d quality, 5.00 per bbl.  
Hams and bacon, per lb., .10.  
Lard, per lb., .09.  
Corn meal, per bbl., 3.00."

In no way can the rise of protectionism be made clear so well as by extracts portraying actual conditions and contemporary sentiment. A starting point is found in the belief that too many articles of foreign manufacture were imported in exchange for the products of the farms, so that the state was drained of money to settle the balance of accounts. Such is the view of Governor Worthington in advocating the encouragement of manufactures, in 1818:

" \* \* \* The continued importation of foreign manufactured articles is producing the worst effects on the country. To this cause \* \* \*

may be attributed in a great measure the extraordinary scarcity of money, so universally felt among us \* \* \* When we consider the great abundance of the raw materials we possess to manufacture most of the clothing necessary for our comfort and convenience, and the state of improvement of our own manufactures, it is to be deeply regretted that our fellow citizens should give a preference to foreign manufactured articles, generally inferior to those we can, and do make of the same kind at home: the result must be a state of dependence and embarrassment, producing the worst consequences on the country."

The low prices of western produce during the years following the panic of 1819 show plainly why the farmers were eager for measures which would improve markets and raise prices. Conditions may be imagined from the following quotations given in the *Cincinnati Inquisitor and Advertiser* for May 29, 1821:

"Prices in market this morning: Flour \$1 per cwt.; Eggs 4c per doz. Hams 4c per lb.; beef same, choice pieces; inferior 2c. Butter 8c. corn meal, bu., 20c Lard 4c Oats 16c bu., Potatoes, 37c Pork, choice pieces 3c, inferior 2c"

The inference drawn from continued low prices was that there was overproduction in agriculture, and that more of the productive energy of the country should be devoted to manufactures. A typical view is that of an anonymous contributor to the *Cincinnati Advertiser* of January 27, 1823:

"\* \* \* It appears pretty evident that there is already too much [1]and under cultivation, witness the price of its produce. What use can there be in cultivating land when its produce cannot find a market \* \* \* does not the fact speak trumpet tongued to the people of the United States? Does it not prove, to a moral certainty, that the time is arrived that they should turn their attention to manufactures, when it evidently appears that the produce of what land is already under cultivation cannot command a market to advantage? \* \* \* Yes, we say, now is the time for the ranks of the manufacturer to increase. Agriculture has been pursued to its acme. The number employed in it is disproportionate to that of the mechanical branch—and the true interest of the whole community will be promoted by producing an equilibrium between them."

Much effort was made to encourage domestic manufactures by appeals to public sentiment and exhortations to the people to patronize home industry wherever possible. As an example the following is taken from the *Greensburgh Gazette*:

"Domestic Manufactures, are in everybody's mouth—but not on everybody's back. Less talk and more action would look better. He that wears a suit of homespun, does more to encourage domestic manufactures than the whole herd of scribblers, who write so zealously on the subject. What is to hinder a club \* \* \* of citizens, from throwing in from 10 to 50 dolls. a piece, and sending an agent to *Steubenville* for domestic cloths to the amount, to be distributed in due proportions amongst the club? This might be made into coats and pantaloons for the approaching winter, and would be of more real advantage to society, than all the abuse that could in a year be heaped on agents, brokers and merchants, by those who wear their stuffs \* \* \*."

"This," comments another paper (*Supporter*), "looks like doing business \* \* \*. It is to be hoped that other districts of country may imitate the above patriotic example—it will be the only effectual way to prevent our money travelling over the mountains for English cloths—and will teach storekeepers, through the medium of their interests, that it will be better for them to sell domestic cloths than none \* \* \* ." The popular fancy for imported goods was not to be corrected by voluntary action, however, and the friends of home manufactures became convinced of the necessity of political action. The friends of home manufactures, moreover, included by 1824 the bulk of the population of the Ohio Valley, who were ready to declare, with the governor of Pennsylvania, that "the limited demand for, and consequent low prices of, our agricultural products in foreign markets, cannot fail to suggest the necessity as well as the policy of promoting domestic manufactures, which, if properly encouraged, would provide a sufficient home market for all our surplus produce \* \* \* ."

The extracts quoted will serve as some illustration of how the topics of internal improvements and the tariff might be illustrated on the Ohio side during the decade from 1815 to 1825. The other topics of the period indicated in the caption can, of course, be similarly treated. The citations given, moreover, can doubtless be improved upon, for the problem is chiefly one of selecting the most suitable material from the abundance which is available.



## OHIO AND THE NATION SINCE THE CIVIL WAR.

The discussion of the question, "How Ohio History illustrates our National History in the Period Since the Civil War?" presents a problem quite different from that of the earlier periods. In the first place, the passing of the States' Rights theory and the national enthusiasm which the war engendered tended to submerge state interests in those of the nation. Further, quick and easy means of transportation and communication have led the people of all the states to the East or the West, to the North or the South, on the trail of better economic opportunities. People move hither and yon so often they hardly know to what state they do belong, and state history, particularly here, in the chief pathway between the East and the West, has ceased to have any particular individuality.

Then, secondly, the very nature of this later period in our national life makes it the most difficult of all for the young student to understand, and it is in the interest of the young student especially that this discussion has been undertaken. The Ohio Company and the Indian treaties, the National Road and the "Walk-in-the-Water," Webster's defense of the Union, the underground railroad, Lincoln's "homely, honest arguments for laws and humanity," all make a clear and direct appeal, and the young student grasps them with avidity. But the protection of business, government as a means for making secure the production and accumulation of wealth, whether or not a certain tariff was helpful to the laborer, the question of money in politics, of "invisible government" — these do not touch young people. Economic questions and political machinery have not the romantic and emotional interest that pioneer life and the earlier ethical problems have. Of course the history we have been making in the last fifteen years or so is going to be, already is, a rich period for the secondary school teacher. "Curbing the trusts," "conservation of natural resources," "health protection," "how the other half lives," "the cry of the children," "the shame of the cities," "those that knock at our door," are all watchwords of a new crusade, a new emancipation program, that has much of the fervor of the old anti-slavery days. And just now the United

States on the outer edge of a world war makes absorbing history. But my effort has been to find what there may be in our own state history to make real and illuminate for boys and girls the rather barren period from the Civil War, say, to the Spanish War.

A state that has furnished six out of ten Republican candidates for the presidency, besides many other favorite sons and the greatest president-maker of our history, and elected its candidate five times in forty years, has surely been "in politics" and must have some stories to tell of her experiences there. I think it is no exaggeration to say that in no state have more exciting political games been played than right here in Ohio. The contested election of 1876 is made especially vivid by a study of the conduct of Governor Hayes during those long trying months. In the newspapers of the day (I have examined the *State Journal* and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* as representing the two extremes of opinion) the governor is shown going quietly on with the state's business, not once expressing the least personal ambition or animosity. Even the *Enquirer*, bitter to the point of vindictiveness against the "Eight to Seven Tribunal," as it calls the Electoral Commission, and especially hard on Justice Bradley, speaks as follows of the governor on the occasion of his visit and address to a Bar Association in Cincinnati, on February 12, 1877:

"Throughout all the trying hours since and before the election, Governor Hayes has done nothing to forfeit the respect of his fellow citizens. He has some wicked partners, though, and if he would only say to the conspirators who are seeking to force him into an office to which the people have not elected him, 'Be done!,' he would pass into history as the greatest man of the times."

Later, when the Commission had reported, on Friday, March 2, the same paper headlines Mr. Hayes as "Joe Bradley's man Friday;" and when it reports his taking of the oath of office on Saturday evening, March 3, because there was thought to be real danger in a possible interregnum, its headlines read: "Sworn in! In Silence, Secrecy and Darkness! Fitting consummation of the Rape of the Presidency." And then it quotes the *New York Sun* as follows:

"These are days of humiliation and shame and mourning for every patriotic American citizen. A man whom the people rejected at the polls has been declared elected President of the United States through processes of fraud. A cheat is to sit in the seat of George Washington."

I believe any normal Ohio boy would feel that to be a sort of challenge and want to get to work and find out if it were true that Ohio had had one more president than was rightfully hers. It does not matter at all to what conclusion he comes; that will probably depend on the politics of his father; but it will be good for him to be able to give a reason for the faith that is in him. Perhaps a reading of a bit from the speech Mr. Hayes made here at the station in Columbus, as he took the train for Washington on noon of March 1, will make more vivid than anything else the great uncertainty the country was in up to the very day of the inauguration:

"I understand very well the uncertainty of public affairs at Washington. I understand very well that possibly next week I may be with you again to resume my place in the Governor's office and as your fellow citizen. [His resignation as governor was in the hands of his private secretary to be presented if he were declared elected president.] I also understand that it is my duty to be at Washington prepared to assume another position, higher and more responsible and with much more difficult duties."

Ohio furnishes illuminating material in this period, also, on the struggle against the spoils system. When Hayes was elected, he was referred to in the *Enquirer* as "the angel of the post-offices," and his firm stand for civil service reform in his inaugural address and later in his messages, his contest over the New York City postoffice and custom house, brought forth a huge opposition in his own party and constant derision of "snivel service" reform, as Conkling called it. Today no reputable statesman would dare speak against the principle of the merit system, even though his practice may be against it, and no paper attacks it except to show how the opposite party is or has been making it a farce and a pretence. It will give a young student some hint that at least some of our national ideals are higher than they used to be if he can read of the early struggle for the reduction of political patronage by the men of his own state.

Hayes started the movement against the spoils system, Garfield fell a victim to it, and Pendleton was the author of the act of 1883. The speech of the latter in the Senate is easily accessible in Professor James' *Readings in American History*.

In the seventies and eighties and nineties, when political contests seem to have been mere selfish struggles of the two great parties to get power into their own hands, the rise of a party of the people, of a party that should place the interests of the toilers, the interests of men and women and children, equal to or above the interests of property, should be a subject of study in every high school class in history. Ohio furnishes almost a complete sequence of events from the famous conglomerate convention held in Cincinnati in May, 1891, when the first People's Party was born, to the days of the Progressive Party of 1912. Here is a description of the convention of 1891 from the *Ohio State Journal* of May 20, 1891:

"Perhaps never in the history of politics were there gathered together a more incongruous body than that which yesterday morning began its sessions at Cincinnati. There is not one element whose ideas are not violently antagonized by half a dozen other elements and no two elements probably that agree exactly upon the same thing. Here, for instance, are the various Farmers' Alliances, representing a vast class of men who recognize a day's work of anyone in their employ as beginning as soon as the dew is off the grass and lasting as long as one can see in the evening, meeting with the Knights of Labor and hundreds of industrial unions whose cardinal idea is the reduction of a day's work to eight hours.

"Here are the enthusiastic Kansas men demanding above all other things the organization of a new political party, yet seeking to coalesce with the cunning Bourbon politicians of the South who have no use for Farmers' Alliances or anything of the sort except as they may be used for putting the old Democratic party in power.

"Here are the laboring men of the North, East, and West, who know more keenly than they have ever known before that the very life breath of American industry is involved in maintaining the principle of protection, yet striving in some way to strike hands with cranky 'doctrinaires' on one side and Jefferson Davis's principles on the other, whose devotion is as fanatical as a Mussulman's is for free trade.

"There are organizations which look with undisguised contempt upon all the machinery of secret rituals, grips and pass words, yet whose



members, nevertheless, are met to form a political alliance with other organizations into whose meetings they cannot secure even a moment's admittance without first giving the necessary 'sign.'

"Here are the howling advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver trying to get cheek by jowl with those who only want silver restored to the place it occupied in 1873, positions which are as widely sundered as the poles of the earth or of the heavens.

"There are the agriculturists, whose standing cry is against the excessive taxation they are compelled to pay upon their lands, meeting in conference with the single tax men, whose one idea is that all taxes of every description should be levied upon and raised from land. \* \* \* If there is anything that marks all these various organizations it is the intense spirit of socialism that distinguishes them all. With one accord they believe, each for itself, however, that its peculiar views must be placed upon the whole community through the mischievous instrumentality of legislation. \* \* \*

"Will the Cincinnati meeting result in placing a new party in the field? It is not at all unlikely that the preliminary steps thereto will at least be taken. \* \* \* And what will it all amount to? Well, new party or not, these seething elements of unrest and discontent will unsettle and disturb all political calculations until after the presidential election of 1892."

Surely the "times were out of joint", and there

"Each sufferer said his say, his scheme of the weal and woe."

A few selections from the platform adopted at Cincinnati might be added:

"We believe the time has arrived for the crystallization of the reform forces of our country and the formation of what should be known as the People's Party of the United States of America.

"We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

"Believing in the doctrine of equal rights, especial privileges to none, we demand that taxation, national, state, or municipal, shall not be used to build up one class or interest at the expense of another.

"We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.

"We demand the most rigid, honest and just national control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

"We demand the election of the President, vice-president and United States senators by the direct vote of the people."

Resolutions for universal suffrage (woman suffrage), the abolition of the liquor traffic, and against great combinations in industry, were suggested but did not carry.

In two years after this convention came the hard times of 1893 and 1894 and one phenomenon of the times, Coxey's army and its march on Washington, was an Ohio event, and contemporary accounts in local newspapers, easily accessible in libraries, will interest young people and easily lead to an inquiry into what was the trouble, what was the real grievance.

Then comes the presidential election of 1896 with McKinley at the head of the ticket and Mark Hanna to prove himself the greatest campaign director the country has known. What called forth his great powers at just this time was this restless dissatisfaction with things as they were, the feeling that government was too much occupied with the protecting of property and the promotion of its increase and not with a fair and just distribution of that increase. Mark Hanna stood for the old system, was the ablest exponent of that system, and he was the Republican campaign manager when Bryan and the free silver issue as by magic gathered into one great army all the diverse elements of dissatisfaction and made a mighty war on things as they were. How Mark Hanna won that campaign and made the people wait is one of the great stories in our political history, and Ohio was the great battle ground and McKinley's front yard at Canton was the location of the greatest siege gun. Let me suggest this reading from Herbert Croly's *Life of Hanna*:

"The action of the Democratic Convention took the country by surprise and completely upset the calculations and plans of the Republican leaders. They had never suspected that the currency issue, even if made decisive, would entirely supersede the tariff issue. \* \* \* A few weeks before the Republican Convention it looked like plain sailing for the Republican nominee. A week after the Democratic Convention it looked as if by sheer audacity and misguided enthusiasm the Democrats had obtained the right of way, and the Boy Orator would be elected. \* \* \* No one could tell with any confidence what effect Mr. Bryan's gallant and strenuous appeal to the American people would have upon the actual vote. \* \* \* The one thing necessary [for the Republican man-

agers] was to establish clearly and to popularize the real meaning of the demand for the free coinage of silver and the real necessity of an assured standard of value. \* \* \* The manifest duty of the Republican National Committee was that of explaining to the voters the meaning of the Democratic platform and convincing them of its palpable error. It was confronted, that is, literally and exclusively by a campaign of education, or better, of instruction. \* \* \*

"One of the major necessities of the campaign as a whole was the adoption of some measure which would counteract the effect of Mr. Bryan's stumping tour, a tour that covered a large part of the country and aroused great popular sympathy and interest. Of course the counter move was to keep Mr. McKinley's ingratiating personality as much as possible before the public; but the Republican candidate cherished great respect for the proprieties of political life and refused to consider a stumping tour of his own. It was arranged, consequently, that inasmuch as McKinley could not go to the people, the people must come to McKinley. The latter abjured the stump, but when his supporters paid him a visit he could address them from his own front porch. This idea was employed and developed to the very limit. Several times a week [according to the papers I have examined it was every day for several weeks] delegations of loyal Republicans came to Canton to pay their respects to the candidate. The chairman of the delegation would make a short speech, telling Mr. McKinley a few little truths with which he was already familiar, and Mr. McKinley would reply at smaller or greater length, according to the importance of the delegation or the requirements of the general campaign at that particular juncture. These delegations were not mere committees. They frequently included some thousands of people and had to be carried to Canton in trains of several sections.

\* \* \* \* It is characteristic of both Mr. Hanna and Mr. McKinley that every detail of these visitations was carefully prearranged. In the first place while many of the pilgrimages were the result of a genuine desire on the part of enthusiastic Republicans to gaze upon their candidate, others were deliberately planned by the Committee for the sake of their effect both upon the pilgrims and upon public opinion. But, whether instigated or spontaneous, Mr. McKinley always had to know just what the chairman was going to say. The general procedure was about as follows: a letter would be sent to the National Committee or to Canton, stating that a delegation of farmers, railroad employees, cigarmakers, wholesale merchants, Presbyterians or what-not would, if convenient, call on Mr. McKinley on such a day. An answer would immediately be returned expressing pleasure at the idea, but requesting that the head of the delegation make a preliminary visit to the candidate. When he appeared, Mr. McKinley would greet him warmly and ask: 'You are going to represent the delegation and make some remarks. What are

you going to say?' The reply would usually be: 'Oh! I don't know. Anything that occurs to me.' Then Mr. McKinley would point out the inconvenience of such a course and request that a copy of the address should be sent him in advance, and he usually warned his interlocutor that he might make certain suggestions looking toward the revision of the speech. \* \* \* Such a course was not calculated to produce bursts of eloquence on the part of the chairman of the delegation, but the candidate preferred to provide the eloquence."\*

An examination of the files of any paper of that year reveals the truth of this account by Mr. Croly. I quote here two or three reports of a day's doings at Canton as given in the *Ohio State Journal*. Besides such accounts of the day there are always extensive reports of the candidate's speeches, some being given in full. Rarely is there any quotation from the speeches of the heads of delegations, only when some specially significant thing was said. I take these accounts at random. That of any other date of September and October, 1896, would do as well:

"CANTON, OHIO, Sept. 20, 1896. In spite of rain and bad weather people began pouring into Canton this morning at a lively rate, and, with the exception of yesterday [which had been the day of the opening of the campaign] furnished the largest crowd of the campaign. The first arrivals were railroad men from the railroads entering Chicago \* \* \* each road having a train or more. In all there were eleven trains. The first one arrived at 9:15 and at intervals of 15 minutes others arrived, the last coming at noon. In the meantime trains from other directions came in with loads of people to be provided with shelter. They were sent to various halls about the city. Aside from the railroad men, the delegations for the day were Republicans from Hulton, Pa.; two trainloads from the Carnegie steel works at Homestead; people from the stations between Jamestown, N. Y., and New Castle, Pa.; from points on the Western New York and Pennsylvania railroad, etc., etc. \* \* \* There were ten visiting delegations of from 1000 to 6000, utilizing 26 special trains and estimated from 10,000 to 15,000 people. There was a cold, drizzling rain all the forenoon and when it ceased the temperature fell rapidly and overcoats were in demand. \* \* \* After two receptions in the Opera House the speech making was transferred to the McKinley lawn, part of it being done in the rain. It was the big delegation of railroad men, too large for any hall, who set the example of defying the elements. They with the 300 to 400 telegraphers who came with them, surrounded the little receiving stand on the major's lawn and

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\* Croly, *Life of Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 209-216.



listened to and cheered the assurances of his hearty support delivered by their spokesman."

"CANTON, OHIO, Sept. 26. Four or five states were represented in the day's doings, and delegations came from between 20 and 30 towns. \* \* \* The delegations were so massed that Major McKinley managed to address them all in eleven speeches.

"The closing demonstration of the day was that of the People's Patriotic Club of Cleveland, the Ladies' Marching Club and band and other organizations of Cleveland. It included organized bodies of naturalized Americans who were former subjects of Bohemia, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Afro-Americans and first voters."

"CANTON, OHIO, October 27. Today's demonstration was full of beauties and features. It was notable for a large crowd. It was notable for the wide range of territory represented by the visiting delegations. It was notable for the varied interests of the people who came.

"The demonstration began in earnest at noon with the arrival of a party representing three states and it continued till dark. All that time the McKinley residence was surrounded by an interested crowd, shouting and applauding the splendid delegations which marched up the street. All that time the air was filled with the music of bands and at no time was the street leading to the McKinley home without a line of men and women, either marching or waiting orders to march. In the first party were 16 coach loads from eastern West Virginia, western Maryland, and Martin's Ferry, Ohio. \* \* \*

"After these came the New England delegation under the banners of the New England Sound Money Club. This party occupied a special train of six sleepers and two dining cars and was on the way from 2 o'clock Monday afternoon until 2 o'clock this afternoon. The party came largely from Boston, but a number of other New England towns were represented. It was composed of former Democrats as well as Republicans, and one of the men presented to Major McKinley was introduced as one who had for over fifty years voted nothing but the Democratic ticket, but who this year will vote for McKinley and Hobart."

The demand for the popular election of United States senators expressed in the People's Party platform at Cincinnati in 1891 grew steadily and our history pupils now have to study the consummation of that demand in the seventeenth amendment. Perhaps some of the reasons for that demand might be found by them in reading the following account of the election of Senator Hanna by the Ohio legislature in January, 1898. This is also from Croly's *Life of Hanna*:

"During the five intervening days Columbus had been the scene of probably the most embittered and desperate fight ever developed by American party politics. The action of the Republican malcontents in combining with the Democrats to defeat Mr. Hanna had taken the state by surprise. His election had been considered secure. An extraordinary outburst of indignation followed. The whole state was in an uproar. Mass meetings were held in the great majority of towns and cities all over Ohio to denounce the traitors and their treachery. The meeting in Cleveland was attended by eight thousand people. Vigorous measures were taken to make these protests felt in Columbus. Delegations were sent to the capital from many parts of the state and particularly from those counties whose representatives were members of the conspiracy. The delegates from Cleveland included one hundred of the most conspicuous business men in the city.

"Columbus came to resemble a mediaeval city given over to an angry feud between armed partisans. Everybody was worked up to a high pitch of excitement and resentment. Blows were exchanged in the hotels and on the streets. There were threats of assassination. Timid men feared to go out after dark. Certain members of the Legislature were supplied with body-guards. Many of them never left their rooms. Detectives and spies who were trying to track down various stories of bribery and corruption were scattered everywhere. \* \* \*

"The excitement was caused, not merely by indignation and resentment, but by the fact that the decision one way or the other would depend on the votes of a very few men. Mr. Hanna required four additional votes \* \* \* assuming, of course, that he could keep all of his existing supporters. The most extraordinary efforts were made, consequently, to capture these doubtful men. For instance, among the Assemblymen who had stayed away from the Republican caucus was John E. Griffith, of Union County. He had announced definitely soon after he reached Columbus that he would not vote for Mr. Hanna. Prior to the time of this declaration he had been living at the Neil House, the Hanna headquarters; but on the day of the announcement he suddenly disappeared, and Mr. Hanna's friends were unable to locate him. If they could get at him they thought they could do something with him, because his constituents had been outraged at what they regarded as his treachery, and had been passing resolutions denouncing him and calling upon him to redeem his pledge. Finally it was discovered that the man had been drugged or intoxicated, and concealed in the rooms of the McKisson men at the Southern Hotel. At the same time they learned that Griffith was weakening and was scared by the denunciations which had been showered upon him. So one night a carriage was sent to the rear of the Southern Hotel, and both Mr. Griffith and his wife were brought back rapidly and secretly to the Neil House. There they were kept under lock and key—not only for the remainder of the night but until the day

of the first ballot. It was feared that an attempt would be made to abduct them, and as a matter of fact certain partisans of McKisson did attempt to force their way to the room.

"In the meantime the friends of Mr. Hanna were busily circulating a paper, absolutely pledging its signers to vote for him. The great majority of the signatures were readily obtained; but the pledges of the last two or three men, necessary to assure his election came hard. A negro Representative from Cleveland named Clifford gave a great deal of trouble, and required constant solicitation and surveillance, although he signed and voted true to his signature. By one or two o'clock in the morning previous to the day of the ballot the pledges of seventy-two legislators had been secured.\* \* \*"

The vote of at least seventy-three was necessary to a choice, and here Croly has an account of how the seventy-third vote was secured:

"On Tuesday, January 11, the two Houses balloted separately; Mr. Hanna received seventeen votes in the Senate and fifty-six in the House. On that day the total number of McKisson supporters was only sixty-eight, one Democrat being absent and three bolting the caucus nominee. But the anxiety was not yet over. It required a joint ballot to assure the result, and one deserter would spoil everything. The seventy-three Hanna legislators went to the State House under the protection of Mr. Hanna's friends. Armed guards were stationed at every important point. The State House was full of desperate and determined men. A system of signals was arranged and operated so that Mr. Hanna and his friends at the Neil House could be informed of the progress of the ballot. The seventy-three voted as they had voted the day before against seventy for McKisson. A white handkerchief waved violently by a man on the steps of the State House gave notice to Mr. Hanna, who was watching anxiously at a window, that he was elected."\*

I believe these suggestions are sufficient to show that there is much material in the recent history of Ohio that can be used to illuminate and make real many movements of our national history. Any library that has a file of local newspapers furnishes admirable material. For instance, the comments I have found concerning the first compulsory education law passed by our legislature, in 1877, make entertaining reading and throw a great light on the distance we have traveled since that date. If teachers all over the state would just open their eyes to it, abundant material would be found at their command.

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\* Croly, *Life of Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 255-259.

## OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

### NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held in Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 21 and 22, 1915, in the beautiful new building of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The general topic for papers and discussions was the "Early Religious Development in the Ohio Valley."

The first meeting was a joint session of the Historical Association and the Ohio History Teachers' Association, Thursday afternoon.

In the absence of Gov. F. B. Willis, the first speaker was Dr. W. O. Thompson, President of Ohio State University, who welcomed the Associations to this city and university.

Dr. Thompson spoke of the interest developed in Ohio history in other parts of the State and expressed the hope that a greater interest in that subject might be aroused in Columbus by the meetings of the Associations. He outlined a plan for an historical memorial in the State, whereby in each county, a pamphlet of local county history should be worked out for use in the public schools. These pamphlets to give accounts of early social customs, schools, and churches, also sketches of travel and adventure. No pioneer spirit is developed by the life of today so this interest in former times and in the building up of the country must be awakened and developed.

In the absence of Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Archæological and Historical Society, his welcome was read by the Secretary, Mr. E. O. Randall.

### ADDRESS OF G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, PRESIDENT THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Members of the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the Ohio Teachers' Association, Ladies and Gentlemen:—*

In the name of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society I bid you welcome to this center of the archæological and his-



torical interests of the State. In this noble building recently erected with funds generously provided by the legislature of Ohio, and in the remarkable relics of the Mound Builders obtained by private contributions from many loyal citizens, and through painstaking explorations conducted by our Curator with funds provided by the State, and in the rapidly growing historical library housed in this building, and in the unique and most valuable library of Americana belonging to the late President Rutherford B. Hayes now open to the public in a beautiful fireproof building erected by the State as a branch of this Society upon a portion of Spiegel Grove his homestead in Fremont, you will find evidence of the deep interest which the citizens of Ohio are taking in the preservation of their abundant historical records. In addition to these buildings our Society is preserving various local monuments of greatest interest and keeping them open for the inspection of present and future generations. Among these are Fort Ancient in Warren County, the most elaborate earthwork in the Ohio Valley; the Serpent Mound in Adams County, which has long attracted the attention of archæologists the world over; the Logan elm near Circleville, under which Logan, the Indian Chief, made his famous appeal. We have also erected a monument commemorating the Big Bottom massacre on the banks of the Muskingum in Morgan County.

Your presence here encourages us because it bears witness to the renewed interest which is felt by our citizens in historical research. Your societies, like our own, are young and are working in a field which, previous to our organizations, had been vigorously cultivated by those from outside the Ohio Valley. Three quarters of a century ago Squier and Davis exploited the mounds and earthworks of our valley and published their results in the monumental volume forming the first of the series of the publications of the Smithsonian Institution. But so little was the public interested in their work that their collection of relics received no adequate recognition either in their own state or the United States. It remained for Mr. Blackmore of Salisbury, England, to see their value, to purchase them, and transfer them to his museum in Salisbury, whither we have been compelled to make pilgrimages to see and study them. This was

the more exasperating because until the present season this Blackmore Museum contained many objects of great interest which we had not been able to duplicate. I am happy to be able to say, however, that in the excavations this year of a mound in the Scioto Valley near Portsmouth our Curator has been able to more than duplicate the objects which gave the greatest interest to the Blackmore Museum. These are already open for inspection in one of the conspicuous cases of our Museum.

We are bound to confess, also, that other agencies from outside our state and valley entered our field before us and put us to shame for our lack of local interest. The Peabody Museum of Cambridge, Massachusetts, under the direction of the late Professor F. W. Putnam has spent as much as \$60,000 in exploring our mounds, removing many of our precious relics to that distant center of archæological investigation. The Field Museum of Chicago has also worked with great success in our field and removed a most remarkable collection of relics to adorn their magnificent show cases. The Smithsonian Institution of Washington has also entered our field and secured a large collection of precious relics. In the realm of historical documents, too, outside interests have been more active than we have been at home. The Wisconsin Historical Society began the collection of original manuscripts relating to the early history of the State long before any organization within our bounds began to gather them in. The very important diaries of the Moravian Missionaries naturally gravitated to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the center of Moravian activity. But Harvard University was the first to appreciate their historical value. Of all this we have little reason to complain since the records are preserved, and are most generously offered to our historians for inspection and study. The field, however, has been by no means exhausted of its treasures, as our growing collection shows. Already we have published some of the most important Moravian records and we rejoice in the fact that local societies in our own state, with which we are glad to co-operate are accumulating rich stores of historical material, and preserving most interesting historical monuments. The Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland has been specially enterprising in collecting files of the early

newspapers, and the manuscript letters of prominent citizens in the early days of the Commonwealth.

The Firelands Association of Norwalk has done a similar work for a portion of the Western Reserve. Cincinnati also, has important collections of historical material, while Marietta College is specially favored with a large collection of similar material. Marietta and Newark have also preserved much of the important and unique prehistoric earthworks found within their borders, while the state is preserving as a public park the historic Fort Meigs and various other places connected with the expeditions of St. Clair and Anthony Wayne.

I am happy to announce that interest in historical work has recently been shown by a bequest of \$25,000, for the Western Reserve Historical Society in the will of the late Dr. Dudley P. Allen, a Trustee, while our own Society has just received word of an additional cash bequest by one of our Trustees, Colonel Webb C. Hayes of Fremont of \$50,000 in trust, the income from which is to be used for the purchase of books and papers necessary to keep up perpetually those lines for which President Hayes' Library of Americana is noted.

Since his original gift of the Spiegel Grove property and the appropriation by the Legislature of \$50,000 towards the building of the fireproof Hayes Memorial Library building, Colonel Hayes has expended an equal amount in cash on the memorial and residence buildings, the gateways and the care and improvements of the Spiegel Grove property, making a total cash expenditure of over one hundred thousand dollars which with the value of the personal and real estate, either deeded or held in trust, makes a total bequest of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand dollars by Colonel Hayes.

Ohio is the burial place of four presidents of the United States. At North Bend, twenty miles below Cincinnati, is the much neglected monument over the grave of President William Henry Harrison. Our own society has initiated active efforts to have the spot properly cared for and a worthier monument erected. Cleveland cares for the remains of President Garfield in a noble monument, while Canton pays equal respect to the remains of President McKinley. President Hayes is properly

commemorated in our own beautiful memorial building holding his library and numerous family relics, while his remains with those of his wife, lie beneath the family monument on the beautiful knoll in Spiegel Grove which is approached only by traversing the original Harrison trail of the war of 1812.

As coworkers in this field of historic investigation we welcome you to our capital and lay open freely before you for your inspection and study the rich treasures of our archæology, our historical documents, and our monuments commemorating the deeds of our great soldiers and statesmen. Our common field is one of surpassing interest and we shall all rejoice in the contributions which any are able to accomplish in making our past more real to the present generation. May our younger scholars be encouraged by what has already been done to accomplish still greater things in the future. Standing on our shoulders they may see farther than we have seen and be able to combine facts into a more consistent whole than we have been able to do. To such work we welcome you all and bid you God speed.

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#### RESPONSE AND PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

H. W. ELSON, LITT. D.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

In behalf of the Ohio Valley Historical Association I beg to express our extreme gratification at the gracious words of welcome accorded us by the executive of the great institution on whose grounds and by whose courtesy we are privileged to assemble, and also, to the representative of the State Archæological and Historical Society to whose kindness and courtesy we shall be deeply indebted ere we separate. It was by a happy arrangement that the meetings of the kindred societies, the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the Ohio State History Teachers' Association be held at the same time and place, for certainly each will be inspired and benefited by its contact with the other. I make no pretense of speaking for the latter; nor is there any need. Prof. W. H. Siebert, president of that association, who refused to permit me to put his name on the program in that capacity, is hereby again urgently requested to make some state-



ment at least of the past history, aims and purposes of that association.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association, which I have the honor to represent had its birth eight years ago in the University of Cincinnati.

The annual meetings have proved to be of great interest. They have fostered the cultivating of old friendships and the making of new ones. But these are by-products. The primary purpose of the Association is to promote and encourage historic study, especially that of the great valley drained by the beautiful, winding river whose name it bears; and to prepare papers from the original sources. These, being published in our annual reports, will prove a treasury of information and historic lore of priceless value to the future historian.

History is the story of human development, as Dr. Bury defines it, or a biography of society, in the language of Dr. Arnold; or as Froude puts it, a voice forever sounding across the centuries, the laws of right and wrong. Yes, it is all that and more. History is the record of the origin and growth of the institutions we enjoy and it is a study of humanity, the most absorbing of all studies, that in which we are all engaged, consciously or unconsciously, every day as long as we live.

The history of the past modifies our views of the present and aids us greatly in planning for the future. It fosters patriotism and makes for good citizenship. What is this thing we call patriotism and whence cometh it? patriotism of the sort that leads a man to give his life for his country? Is it geographical unity? If so, how can we explain the indisputable oneness and patriotism of the British Empire, which exists in spots all over the world? Is it language? Then why are the Swiss characterized by an almost fierce devotion to their country? Switzerland is tri-lingual, 15 of the cantons being of German speech, five French and two Italian. Even our own great land is without a language of its own. We must seek further for the fountain of patriotic fervor.

Is it religion? Least of all is it religion. In nearly all modern countries the people are hopelessly divided in their

religious dogma, and religion has, for the most part, ceased to be national and has become personal.

Is it then race that binds a people into a unit? Where is the modern Caucasian race of pure blood? We speak of the Teutonic peoples at war with the Allies. Note a few facts: The English people of today, as is well known, are chiefly Teutonic in their origin. The French are in a great measure descended from the immense body of the Franks, a Germanic tribe that crossed the lower Rhine during the dying years of the Roman Empire. Even the Italians are largely the descendants of the invading Ostrogoths and Lombards.

The old Roman race, if I may turn aside for an instant, largely died out because of the refusal of the so-called better classes to raise families. And France is not the only modern nation going in the same direction. In our own America, if it were not for the immigrants and the larger families of the farmers and laborers, our population would decrease instead of increase from decade to decade.

To return to our unanswered question — whence cometh patriotism? The agents I have named may all make their contribution, but none of them is paramount. There is another factor surpassing all these. It is the common heritage of the past. If our old friends seem dearer to us than the new, it is because of our common experiences. The people of a nation are welded together more by their common memories and traditions, as a modern writer puts it, by their common achievements and failures, than by any other agent. And this is history. It is therefore the history of a people, intelligently understood, that unifies the spirit, that makes them a nation and furnishes the foundation of their hopes and aspirations.

The Swiss people are without a separate language or religion: they are divided into a hundred communities by almost impassable mountains; but they have in common the memory of Arnold Winkelried and of William Tell, mythical or true, and this memory binds them together as nothing else can do. The French nation would hardly be today what it is were it not for the memory of that strange, frail girl of dreams and visions who

came from among the vine-covered hills of Domremy to lead the royal armies to victory. For two centuries Scotland has been one in government with England; but you can still fire the heart of the Scots and make them feel a people apart from all the rest of the world with the magic names of Wallace and Bruce and Burns.

Few of us appreciate the potency of history in shaping national character. Few realize what history has done for us in making us what we are. It is an astonishing fact that until the last few decades history was not a required study in our public schools.

But, it may be argued, we have no history, we are but of yesterday. What a brief span in the world's life is the time since the founding of Jamestown; and even after that event the Ohio Valley lay for nearly two centuries unoccupied by civilized man. But, perhaps it is true that to a man of four score, youth seems no farther away than events of five or six years ago to a child of ten. If this holds good with respect to a nation, our little span of national existence may be quite as inspiring to us as long vistas of past centuries would be. But there is another viewpoint from which every American has reason to be proud of his country.

Among the great governments of the world ours is not the youngest, but one of the oldest. The German Empire is only a third as old as our national government, and the same is almost true of Austria-Hungary and of Italy. After we had long been settled as a stable government the states of Germany, of Austria, and of Italy were still floundering in the abyss of disunion and only dimly dreaming of national unity. And what of France? Since the adoption of our Constitution in 1789 France has undergone fourteen changes of government, many of them very radical, ranging from the absolute monarchy to the wild, unrestrained *sans culotte* democracy. Even old stable England underwent a change in 1832 far more radical than any recorded in our national history.

In short, the only great modern nation west of Russia that has held, during the past century and a quarter, a steady, unswerving course without a single, radical change in its form of

government is the United States of America. Have we not much in our history to be proud of?

In conclusion permit me to refer to the one uppermost thought in the world's mind—the Great War; or rather to the American attitude towards war, as emphasized by this colossal conflagration.

A noted writer of Europe said recently that this war will strengthen the heroic in man at the expense of the esthetic, adding that the change in his opinion will not be for the worse. He might have added that by the heroic he means the bull-dog nature—the very thing that Civilization and Christianity have been trying to train out of man for thousands of years. In all the zoological world the prince of fighters is your bull dog. To characterize him in a phrase, he fights like a European.

America is devoted to peace as no other great people in the world's history has ever been. Why is this so? There are various contributing causes. First, we desire no more territory, while nearly every nation in Europe is obsessed with the land-grabbing fever. Second, we have a vast safeguarding ocean to the east of us and another to the west of us. These facts may have their weight and doubtless do contribute much to the fixing of our national character in this respect. But we must search deeper for the true cause of our passionate devotion to peace.

Is it fear or a sense of weakness? Hardly. No braver soldiers live than our own, and our resources far exceed those of any other nation. Is it the devastation of the land, the destruction of the cities and of works of art? Is it the undeserved suffering of the men in the trenches and on the battle line, or the greater suffering of the wives and mothers at home? Is it the stupendous national debts that will wring the life-blood from the toiling millions for generations to come?

All these we deplore to the last degree, but the most potent cause of our hatred of warfare is yet to be named. It may be expressed in the single word—Individualism. We have come to regard the individual life as too sacred to be sacrificed wholesale to the war-god without the gravest of reasons. It is the slaying of multitudes of young men that we deplore above all things. Why cut down a young man when he is only beginning



to live, before he has had a chance for self-realization? Why cut off a man's opportunities in his youth? Why rob him of the holy right to live and to make the best of himself? There are doubtless moments of exhilaration and glory in the dangers of battle, but these are as nothing when balanced against the wholesale slaughter of men.

Herein then lies the secret of our anti-war spirit. Not that we would not fight if necessary. No people is more jealous of its rights and its honor. And in the language of Dryden, "Beware of the fury of the patient man." But unless war is unavoidable, we are for peace at all times. This intense devotion to peace is, I believe, strengthening with the years, is becoming deep and ineradicable in the American heart. The fact that at this time there is a national impulse for greater preparedness does not change this basal truth in the least, and when the historian of the remote future sums up the qualities and characteristics of the nations of our age, perhaps he will place this Devotion to Peace as the most pronounced, distinctive characteristic of the American people.

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#### WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF OHIO.

BY D. C. SHILLING, MONMOUTH COLLEGE, ILL.

The question of extending the franchise to woman on an equality with man is an outgrowth of nineteenth century democracy, and a tribute to the progress woman has made in almost all fields of human endeavor. It is no longer a local issue, but has become a national one and from a broader point of view, an international one. It, therefore, may be worth our while to analyze the movement in Ohio as reflected in the Constitutional Conventions of 1851, 1873 and 1912, especially the first two.

Ohio, like several of the states which entered the union in the early part of our national history, has changed her organic law by a subsequent constitution, incorporating to be sure, many principles of the older yet altering what progress and experience taught should be altered. This constitution adopted in the middle of the nineteenth century together with several amendments constitutes the organic law of the state.

In Article XVI, section 3 of this document provision is made for the submission to the electors of the state at the expiration of each twenty year period the question of calling a convention "to revise, alter or amend the constitution." In the case of a favorable vote—the majority of all the electors—the General Assembly at its next session is required "to provide by law for the election of delegates, and the assembling of such convention."

In accordance with this provision a constitutional convention was called for by the electors in 1871. The convention sat during the winter and spring of 1873-4, but its work was rejected at the polls by a majority of 147,284. In 1891 by a vote of two to one the people decided against calling a convention; by 1911, however, popular sentiment demanded a change in the organic law and by a vote of ten to one a convention was ordered. This Convention did not favor an entire change but was content to put new wine in old bottles and proposed some forty-two amendments, thirty-four of which were ratified by the people at the polls.

The report of the constitutional convention of 1802 contains no mention of an attempt to enfranchise the women of Ohio. It will be recalled however, that it did debate the extension of the franchise to the negroes of the state. By 1851 there had developed considerable sentiment in favor of investing the women of Ohio with the right to vote. While the report of the proceedings of this convention does not include many of the debates, from the petitions, memorials, and in a few instances, the resolutions, we can approximate the magnitude of the movement two generations ago. From an examination of these petitions and memorials we are forced to conclude that the grandmothers or many of us were ardent supporters of "female suffrage" at a time when woman's sphere was much narrower than it is at present; therefore if there is any virtue in the movement today, and if it is productive of any good, a part of the praise must be accorded to those sturdy pioneer women of Ohio who three score years ago asked as a matter of simple justice that "the word male be struck out" of the clause granting the franchise.

Remembering that this convention sat a decade prior to the Civil War one is not surprised to find many petitions asking

for equal suffrage "regardless of color or sex." Such petitions were presented from Stark, Portage, Columbiana, Tuscarawas and Shelby counties. Portage county was especially anxious to enfranchise the blacks. Petitions were presented from this county bearing the signature of 426 of her citizens asking that the franchise be extended to both races irrespective of sex.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the above mentioned counties which desired the extension of the franchise to all citizens, there were several others which asked for "female suffrage" — the term invariably used by the official reporter in the proceedings of the convention. In this group are Cuyahoga, Ashtabula, Muskingum, Clark, Morgan, Medina and Warren counties. There were therefore twelve counties each represented by one or more petitions praying that the women of Ohio be given the right of suffrage. Petitions bearing the signatures of more than one thousand citizens were presented to the convention.

While a study of sectionalism in Ohio is not within the province of this paper, one cannot fail to note that of the twelve counties asking for an extended franchise — some petitions asking that the negro be included — but two were from the southern part of the state. The reasons for the hostility of the river counties to the enfranchising of the negro are apparent. An enfranchised negro on the north bank of the Ohio would be a constant menace to the owner of an enslaved negro on the south bank. There is ample evidence to prove that the southern counties of Ohio contained many men who, because of commercial, social and political affiliations were bitterly opposed to giving any offense to their slave-holding friends across the river. Indeed during a part of the period from 1802 to 1860 the National Road was to Ohio politics what Mason and Dixon's line was to national politics — a line of cleavage. Perhaps the conservatism and the political ideas held by the states whose sons and daughters constituted a large proportion of the population of south-

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<sup>1</sup> Debates in Ohio Constitutional Convention; vol. 1, p. 107. (Since all the data for this paper is taken from the reports of the conventions, the necessity for citations is somewhat lessened.)

ern Ohio go to explain their diffidence on the extension of the suffrage to the women of the state.<sup>2</sup>

The character of the men and women who signed the petitions was often referred to by the members of the convention who presented the petitions. Invariably they were mentioned as persons of unimpeachable character. The language of the petitions was temperate, sane and respectful. One signed by one hundred and twenty ladies of Morgan county prayed that "the word male be left out of the constitution and that such provision shall be therein inserted as shall restore to woman her rights without impairing, or in any way abridging those which belong to man."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hawkins while presenting this petition stated that the signers were highly endowed with moral and mental attainments of a very superior order. Mr. Woodbury in presenting one from residents of Ashtabula county said that the signatures represented "the most respectable and intelligent persons in the country."<sup>4</sup>

The petitions which asked that both "white" and "male" be stricken from the clause vesting the franchise placed the age requirement at twenty-one. Those which did not include "color" put the suffrage age at eighteen. Frequently the petitioners asked for "equal rights" sometimes applicable to all regardless of color or sex. A joint petition from Stark and Portage counties asked for "equal rights political and civil without regard to sex or color."<sup>5</sup> Portage county presented at least five petitions bearing the signatures of nearly three hundred of her citizens asking for equal rights without regard to color or sex.<sup>6</sup> Muskingum county citizens were content to ask for "the granting of the right of suffrage and all the other privileges and immunities enjoyed by the opposite sex to all white women in our state over the age of eighteen years."<sup>7</sup> Medina county desired "equal rights

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<sup>2</sup>For a study of sectionalism in Ohio see the writer's article in the *Quar. Pub. of the Hist. and Philos. Soc. of Ohio*, vol. VIII, No. 1. (1913).

<sup>3</sup>Vol. I, p. 615.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup>*Debates*, vol. I, p. 75.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 236, 354, 726.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 59.



political and social without regard to sex.”<sup>8</sup> It does not appear that any careful distinction was made in the use of such terms as rights, privileges and duties. As if to guarantee that all were meant to be included thirty-three citizens of Cleveland asked that “the right to participate in the government equally with men be secured to the woman in the new Constitution.”<sup>9</sup>

While the movement had some ardent friends among the delegates, especially among those representing the northern and eastern counties of the state, there was at no time a possibility of breaking down the barriers and the word “male” was written in Article 5, section 1 which grants the elective franchise.

That the movement for equal suffrage in Ohio grew during the two decades following 1851 can be proven very conclusively. As was pointed out above, there were twelve counties represented by petitions bearing the signatures of more than one thousand persons who asked for woman’s suffrage. In the convention of 1873 thirty-three counties were represented by petitions bearing nearly eight thousand names.

Geographically considered, no one section of the state was more zealous than the others to secure suffrage rights for the women of Ohio. In other words the movement had support and opposition from all parts of the state. From the report of the convention one would conclude that the most ardent supporter of “female suffrage” was Mr. Voris of Summit county. It was he who moved that a special committee be appointed to receive the petitions asking for woman’s suffrage, because he considered the regular committee on the franchise were hostile to the movement. This action was the occasion of sharp debate but Mr. Voris gained his point.

An Ashland county delegate, Mr. Hill, thought that “a full discussion of the question of woman’s suffrage would produce no harm.” “I have no eulogy,” he said, “to pronounce upon the women of Ohio. It is sufficient for me to know that they are our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters. That fact of itself, should awaken a most chivalrous consideration of their petitions

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. II, p. 232.

\* \* \* I have no fear that if suffrage should be conferred upon our mothers, wives, sisters and daughters they will disgrace it. It would be pleased to see a system of education inaugurated that would require parents to give their daughters the same opportunities for mental training that are now awarded their sons." He said the problem was "whether suffrage would add to their happiness and progress and at the same time result in additional usefulness." He doubted if a majority of the women really desired the franchise and favored a proposition to submit it to the women to ascertain "their wishes on the subject."<sup>10</sup>

During the discussions several of the delegates expressed themselves in favor of submitting the question to the women alone. To provide a method for ascertaining the position of the women, "Proposition Number 222" was offered. It provided that "the General Assembly at its first session after the adoption of this constitution, shall cause a registration to be taken of all the women in this state, 21 years of age, who would, if males, be legal voters in their respective wards and townships; the returns of which registration shall be forwarded to, and filed with, the Secretary of State, and shall be also provided for the submission at the next general election for State officers, at separate polls \* \* \* the question of woman suffrage to the women of the state, \* \* \* and if a majority equal in number to a majority of all the women registered" shall favor the extension of the franchise to them, the General Assembly was directed to prepare an amendment which would provide for equal suffrage.<sup>11</sup>

The special committee on woman's suffrage which was appointed, as was shown above, because of the supposed prejudice of the regular committee of the elective franchise, made its report in the form of a proposed amendment under the caption, "A Substitute for Section I of Article V of the present Constitution." It provided that "Every citizen of the United States of the age of 21 years," a resident of the state for one year and of county, township or ward such time as required by law, "shall

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<sup>10</sup> Report of Const. Conv., 1873, vol. II, part III, p. 2747-48.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. II, part II, p. 1922.

have the qualifications of an elector and be entitled to vote at all elections." <sup>12</sup>

The question of submitting the proposition to the electors caused a very spirited two days' debate but when the vote was taken the convention stood, for submission 49; against submission 41; but since it failed by 4 votes to secure the majority of all the delegates it was defeated.

During the debates on the above considerable use was made of the Bible to prove that man's position was and should be superior to that of woman. This drew some clever remarks from Mr. Voris who scoffed at the idea that "the paternal advice of a Roman citizen of Jewish birth and education, in the days of the Empire, to a barbarian people, who had recently been converted to Christianity, who had never heard of such a thing as American liberty, or even the ballot box, should be construed to prohibit our free citizens from voting at the elections is too absurd to be tolerated for a moment." He thought that if politics were too corrupt for women it augured "badly for the future, and is a withering commentary on man's management of our public affairs." He argued that the franchise would give woman "additional moral force, make her influence greater and better qualify her for her mission, \* \* \* make her a better wife and mother and just as good a Christian." <sup>13</sup>

The opposition found a champion in Mr. Powell of Delaware county. He appears to have seen more clearly than most of the delegates the distinctions between such terms as "rights" "privileges" "duties" et cetera. His speech covers ten pages of the proceedings, and is worth perusal by present day students of this question. <sup>14</sup>

Despite every effort made by its friends the case was hopeless and the regular committee on the elective franchise reported in favor of limiting the franchise to "male" citizens of the state 21 years of age or over. This ended the struggle as far as the convention of 1873 was concerned. That the work of the con-

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<sup>12</sup> Vol. II, part I, p. 567.

<sup>13</sup> Vol. II, part III, p. 2800-2808.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., part II, pp. 1830-1839.

vention did not meet with approval everywhere is evidenced by the action of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Toledo.

In response to an invitation to participate as an organization in the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1876 (centennial year), the president of the Association replied that while the members were grateful for "the implied recognition of their citizenship, yet they manifestly have no centennial to celebrate, as the government still holds them in a condition of political serfdom. \* \* \* In an equal degree we feel it inconsistent as a disfranchised class to unite with you in the celebration of that liberty which is the heritage of but half the people." <sup>15</sup>

In response to a favorable vote in 1911, a constitutional convention assembled early the following year. A prophetic vision was not necessary to anticipate an attempt to win the suffrage for the women of Ohio. It will be recalled that California had enfranchised the women of that state at this time. This gave courage to the workers in Ohio and a determined effort was made to gain as many points of vantage as possible. The women proved to be good campaigners, and after the election of delegates announced that they had a safe majority pledged for equal suffrage.

Viewed as an entity, the debates of the convention on this question give the writer four general impressions. In the first place, the terms "rights" "privileges" and "duties" were used with more discrimination than they were in 1873.<sup>16</sup> Second; there was a current of feeling that the liquor interests would be adversely affected by the passage of woman's suffrage. One delegate asked if the women who had petitioned for the franchise were not opposed to submitting the liquor license proposition to the electors.<sup>17</sup> The third impression is that there was an unwillingness on the part of several delegates to allow a full discussion of the subject. This is proven by the passage of a three minute limit for debates. Protests were not wanting. One delegate considered this the most unfair consideration the women

<sup>15</sup> Hist. of Woman's Suffrage: Anthony, Stanton and Gage, vol. III, p. 507.

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings, etc., vol. I, p. 612, 634, et al.

<sup>17</sup> Proceedings, vol. I, 613 and 618.



of Ohio had ever received. He pointed out that the convention allowed two weeks discussion on the proposition of a bond issue for good roads, and "permitted without limitation a discussion for nearly three weeks of the liquor question."<sup>18</sup> In spite of this appeal for fairness the convention gave less than two days to the question which most delegates considered the most important one before them.<sup>19</sup> Lastly, most of the delegates were of the opinion that the great majority of women were opposed to receiving the franchise.

An analysis of the debates would prolong this paper beyond the twenty minute limit, and add little to its effectiveness.<sup>20</sup> As in 1873, several delegates favored a referendum by the women alone. Its impracticability and doubts as to its legality caused its defeat. The committee on the Elective Franchise reported a proposal which passed the convention by a vote of 76 to 34. This amendment was defeated at the polls by nearly 100,000 votes, and the women of Ohio were left to exercise the limited franchise granted at an earlier period.

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#### EARLY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN PITTSBURGH.

BY HOMER J. WEBSTER, PH. D., UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

Pittsburgh is distinguished today as a city of wealth and manufactures. It is equally true, though not so well known, that she is conspicuously a city of churches, and of church going people. Today she has several denominational colleges, and three Theological Seminaries, the latter representing the different branches of the Presbyterians. And almost from the beginning of her history, Presbyterianism has been prominent.

The Roman Catholics, however, preceded the Presbyterians, since their chaplain, Friar Denys Baron, a Recollect Priest, accompanied the French to Fort Duquesne, conducted services there in the newly erected chapel in 1754, and ministered to them during their occupation. From the French evacuation of the fort in

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 619 (Prof. Knight).

<sup>19</sup> The debates cover pp. 600-639.

<sup>20</sup> See especially speeches of Marshall, Bowdle, Marriot and Johnson (Williams Co).

1758, until 1808, the Roman Catholics in Pittsburgh were few in number, and had no resident priest. They were visited occasionally by missionaries on their way westward, services being held in private houses.

No sooner were the English established at Fort Pitt, in 1758, than Presbyterian ministrations began. Rev. Chas. Beatty preached a Thanksgiving sermon on the Sunday following the French evacuation. The Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia sent missionaries repeatedly to the fort and western settlements for brief labors there. Some of these missionaries also visited the Indians on the Muskingum, and took back a stirring report to the next Synod, to the effect that the fields were white and the laborers few. For over twenty years, however, progress was painfully slow, and nothing of permanence or stability was secured prior to the establishment of a resident minister. Rev. James Power was the first ordained minister, who settled with his family in western Pennsylvania. He came in 1776 and for several years worked in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. In the same year, the Rev. John McMillan founded the Log College near Canonsburgh, Pennsylvania, the forerunner of Jefferson College, one of the two parent stems of Washington and Jefferson College.

The Redstone<sup>1</sup> Presbytery was created by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia at its meeting in Philadelphia, May, 1781. This was the first Presbytery formed west of the Allegheny Mountains,<sup>2</sup> and held its first meeting at Pigeon Creek, in September, 1781. In the record of this Presbytery no mention is made of Pittsburgh until its fifth meeting, held at Buffalo, Washington County, Pennsylvania, 1784, when it received from Pittsburgh an application for supplies. Accordingly the next day, the Presbytery appointed the Rev. Joseph Smith, a graduate of Princeton, to preach at Pittsburgh the fourth Sabbath of August. This was the first appointment by the Presbytery of a supply to Pittsburgh.

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<sup>1</sup> Redstone Creek joined the Monongahela River at Redstone Old Fort, fifty-five miles above Pittsburgh, but the term, Redstone, was applied to the whole region west of the mountains.

<sup>2</sup> In 1793 the Presbytery of Ohio was formed part from the old Redstone Presbytery, and thus the latter was divided.

Some idea of conditions in Pittsburgh at that time may be gained from Arthur Lee, who visited it in 1784, and who said: "Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log houses. \* \* \* There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel, so that they are likely to be damned without benefit of clergy." In the same year, a clerical member of the Mason and Dixon's Line Commission brought one hundred sixty Bibles to Pittsburgh for distribution.

Meanwhile Rev. Samuel Barr had visited Pittsburgh, and had preached a few times. In the fall of 1785 he began regular pastoral work in what is now called the First Presbyterian Congregation of Pittsburgh, which was then formed. In September, 1787, a bill was passed by the legislature at Philadelphia, to incorporate a Presbyterian congregation in Pittsburgh. In the same month, through the efforts of the Rev. Samuel Barr, the Penn heirs had deeded to this church two and one-half lots of ground for five shillings. This deed was executed on parchment to eleven trustees and is still possessed by the First Presbyterian Church of the city. On this ground the church erected their first house of worship, — a structure of "moderate dimensions and squared timber." This was the first church building in Pittsburgh. Samuel Barr's pastorate closed in 1789, and for several years thereafter, the church had no regular minister, being attended mostly by successive supplies. There were hard and lean years for the Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. It had little life in itself and was out of harmonious relation with the Red-stone Presbytery.

From 1794 to 1800, the history of the First Church is almost a blank. A call for supplies was made in 1795 and again in 1799. No meetings of the Presbytery were held in Pittsburgh during this period. A fast day was appointed by the Presbytery in January, 1796, for "prevailing infidelity, vice, immorality, and spiritual sloth." The first Tuesday afternoon of each quarter was set apart in October, 1797, as a "time of prayer for a revival of religion." Perhaps the greatest enemy with which the pioneer church had to deal in those days was intemperance. A ray of hope in this dark period of its history, came with the sermon

of Dr. Francis Herron in the old log church in 1799, which, in his own words, was much to the "annoyance of the swallows" which inhabited the neglected building.

As early as 1782, the Rev. Johann Wilhelm Weber first came to Pittsburgh. The town then contained about sixty houses and huts, and about one hundred families. As an outgrowth of Weber's labors, a German Lutheran congregation was organized by 1783. This was the first religious body to form an organization in Pittsburgh. A little later, a church was erected by them on ground secured from the Penns. The Rev. Mr. Weber served as their pastor for twelve years, and the church continued to develop during the ensuing years, and became a permanent factor in the life of the place.

In 1787, when the Penns donated lands to the Presbyterians and Lutherans, they also deeded the same amount, two and one-half lots, to the trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who were just then organizing in Pittsburgh. This land was used from the beginning as a burial place, but not for thirty-seven years as the site for a church. One of the trustees of this church was Col. John Gibson, who was commandant for a time at Fort Pitt, and later secretary to Gov. Harrison in Indiana Territory. In 1797, Rev. John Taylor was called to act as pastor. The first services were held in the court house, and other places, public and private. In 1805 a charter was secured for the incorporation of Trinity Church, and a new plot of ground was bought, on which was erected the First Trinity Church. This was known as the "Old Round Church," being octagonal in form, and was the mother of all Episcopal Churches in Western Pennsylvania. For twenty years it was not prosperous, and was supplied by various rectors for short periods. In 1824, John Henry Hopkins became rector and greatly strengthened the church, and a new building was erected the following year.

Early Methodism had a difficult field to cultivate in Pittsburgh and vicinity. The soil was preoccupied. The Presbyterians came early, settled thickly, held on tenaciously, and gained much afterward from immigration, while Methodism gained little from this latter source. At the Methodist Conference, held at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, July, 1788, the Pittsburgh Circuit was



formed, partly from the Redstone Circuit which lay south of Pittsburgh, and Chas. Conway was appointed preacher for the new circuit. This was the first appearance of the name of Pittsburgh in the annals of Methodism. The Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians were already organizing in Pittsburgh, when Conway arrived in 1788. Three years earlier, Rev. Wilson Lee, preaching on the Redstone Circuit, had visited Pittsburgh, and preached there the first Methodist sermon. But there was no organization and Conway came "not to serve a church, but to make one, not called by a church, but to call a church," and his field of labor extended to the vicinity as well as to the town. In 1789, Bishop Asbury made his first visit to Pittsburgh. He wrote in his journal that the people were very attentive, but that "alas they are far from God, and too near the savages in situation and manners." At the close of the second year, 1790, the minutes showed ninety-seven members in the Pittsburgh Circuit, though few of these were in Pittsburgh. In the next few years, additional preachers were appointed to assist Conway, yet between Satan on the one hand and the Calvinists on the other, there was little chance for Methodism in Pittsburgh in these early years.

The first important accession came with arrival of John Wrenshall, merchant, in 1796. He was also a minister of much experience and ability, and to him perhaps as much as to any other one man, belongs the honor of establishing Methodism in Pittsburgh. Regular services were held for a time in the old log building, which had been deserted by the Presbyterians, and later in the old barracks of Fort Pitt. But no permanent home was secured for their services, until in 1810 a lot was purchased and a plain brick church erected. The membership increased so rapidly from this time that by 1817, the membership of the Pittsburgh church alone, numbered two hundred eighty, and a site was purchased for the erection of a new building. Thus arose the Smithfield Street Church, the mother Methodist Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh.

The church now known as the United Presbyterian in Pittsburgh, formed in 1858, was an outgrowth of the Associate, or Associate Presbyterian Church. At Philadelphia in 1800 was

organized the Associate Synod of North America, consisting of four Presbyteries, including that of Chartiers. The Associate Presbytery of Chartiers met and organized at Canonsburgh, Pennsylvania, in June, 1800.

Several congregations were under its care. At a meeting of this Presbytery at Buffalo, Pennsylvania, in 1801, a petition was presented from Pittsburgh and Turtle Creek for preaching. In response to this, elders were elected at Pittsburgh, and they called as their first minister, in November of that year, the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson. Thus the First United Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh was organized under the name of the Associate Congregation of Pittsburgh. Henderson became discouraged and was released in 1804. During his pastorate, the congregation had no church building, and worshiped in the court house. In 1808 Robert Bruce, recently from Scotland, became pastor, and the congregation worshiped in the German Church. Finally in April, 1810, a lot for a church building was purchased, but the building was not ready for occupancy until 1813. This first church was a rude building of brick, with unplastered walls, unpainted pews, and no vestibule. But these pioneer days passed by, and the congregation grew in numbers and strength until it is today one of the strongest in Pittsburgh.

The Baptists were organized in Pittsburgh, rather later than the other denominations. The first congregation, in 1812, consisted of six families, with Rev. Edward Jones as pastor. The services were held in various places. The congregation was not chartered until 1822. It belonged to the Redstone Baptist Association, whose minutes are published beginning with 1804. In that year this Association included twenty-five churches, with a total membership of over one thousand. It met annually, and its records indicate the progress of the Baptists in Western Pennsylvania. In 1808, the number of churches was thirty-five with a membership of over fifteen thousand. Then for a series of years the number decreased, and in 1810, there were only about twelve thousand. In 1823 this Association convened at Pittsburgh. Only twenty-one churches were represented with memberships ranging from nine to one hundred twelve each.

In the minutes of this Association for 1805, there are two

interesting queries. One was: "Is it consistent with gospel order, or our Lord's rule of equity, to hold any of our fellow creatures in perpetual slavery?" Answered unanimously, "No." The other was: "Do we hold fellowship with any church which holds fellowship with any members, who hold slaves in perpetual servitude?" This query was referred to the next annual Association for an answer. At that time it was resolved that this query "be struck out, leaving the case of slavery wholly to the prudence of the Legislature, praying that the Lord would put it into their hearts to liberate them."

Though the Roman Catholics were the first in this section, not until 1808, did they have a resident priest. In that year Rev. Wm. O'Brien came from Baltimore to Pittsburgh. He promoted the erection of St. Patrick's Church, which was begun in the same year. This was a brick building and its dedication in August, 1811, was the occasion of the first visit of a Roman Catholic Bishop to this place. During the building of this church, Father O'Brien said mass in a stable fitted up for a chapel. After twelve years of service among the missions of that region, in which he ministered to perhaps not more than three hundred souls, Father O'Brien preached his farewell sermon in the spring of 1820. He was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Maguire, under whose ministrations, a magnificent new church, St. Paul's, was erected.

As the history of the Presbyterians has been sketched here only to 1800, a few further facts concerning them should be presented. Their history has been divided into three periods. First, the initial struggle for existence, 1784-1800, which has been outlined above. During the sixteen years of this period, the pastoral relation existed but about one-fourth the time, (1785-'89).

The second period, 1800-1811, was a struggle for establishment. In 1802 the Synod of Pittsburgh was formed by Act of the General Assembly, and held its first meeting in October of that year. This was the first great representative meeting of the men who made Western Pennsylvania Presbyterianism. Their missionary zeal was shown in their first resolution, that "the Synod of Pittsburgh shall be styled the Western Missionary Society." The effects of the formation of the Synod and of this

first meeting were soon felt. The union between the city and the surrounding country, thus far delayed, was now begun and proved effective.

In 1801 a dissension arose within the church at Pittsburgh, and persisted until 1804, when upon petition, a part of the congregation was authorized to organize the Second Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh. Supplies were granted the new branch until October, 1805, when a regular minister accepted its call. This division increased financial difficulties, already great, on account of the erection of a building. Despairing of raising the debt by subscription, a lottery was resorted to in 1806, but was not successful, and the debt continued. During all this early period the religious life was at a low ebb, and progress was slow. The First Presbyterian Church numbered but forty-five members in 1808, fifty-eight in 1809, and sixty-five in 1810. Around Pittsburgh, however, there had been considerable growth. Cross Creek Church numbered two hundred fifty-five, Cross Roads and Three Springs two hundred thirty-seven, and many others about two hundred each.

The early churches of Western Pennsylvania were rural and they developed later in the towns. The country people were the Christians, the townspeople, the "pagans," says Smith, in respect to their early destitution of churches. Pittsburgh, Washington (Pennsylvania) and Wheeling were all suppliants at the door of the Redstone Presbytery, begging for supplies. And just as rural life develops sturdy manhood, so it develops sturdy churches, so that by 1833, Dr. Alexander could write: "The Pittsburgh Synod is the purest and soundest limb of the Presbyterian body. When we fall to pieces in this quarter and in the far West, that Synod will be like a marble column, which remains undisturbed in the ruins of a mighty temple."

In 1811 the Presbyterian Church entered upon the third and successful period of its history, which has continued to the present time. In that year the Rev. Francis Herron became the pastor of the First Church, and so continued for thirty-nine years. In 1817 the church was enlarged and regular weekly prayer meetings were established. From 1817 to 1824, the Pittsburgh Bible Society, formed in 1814 in this church, delivered 2,382 Bibles,



and 1,180 testaments. In 1817 the Western Missionary Society of Pittsburgh, that is, the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburgh, assembled and appointed missionaries to all the Indian districts of the west.

In 1818 the Pittsburgh Union Society, or Sunday School Association, for promoting Sunday School work, organized and founded the Adephe Free School, a combined Sunday and public school for the benefit of poor children. At the time of the first annual report of the Sunday School Association, February, 1819, it comprised ten Sunday Schools in Pittsburgh. During its first year the Association gathered about five hundred fifty children into the Sunday Schools, maintained a free colored school, and embraced every church in Pittsburgh and vicinity.

In May, 1820, the United Foreign Missionary Society, composed of several denominations of the city, requested from the Western Missionary Society of Pittsburgh, aid for missions to the Osage Indians. This appeal was responded to by raising over \$1,200 in cash, and a large supply of provisions and building materials. The first faculty of the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh, was composed of six of the most eminent clergymen in the community.

These facts illustrate the activity of the churches of Pittsburgh during the early years of the nineteenth century, and explain in part their growth in power, influence and Christian service.

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## EARLY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE MUSKINGUM VALLEY.

BY C. L. MARTZOLFF, OHIO UNIVERSITY.

The dominant note in the settlement of the majority of the colonies was, as we know, religious freedom. The spirit of modern history which has as its slogan, "*All men are free*," found in those days expression in terms of religion, with the result that the most of men's acts were determined by a religious motive.

While the settlement of the Muskingum Valley, which includes practically all of southeastern and eastern Ohio, was not prompted by the same reasons which urged the fathers to come across the Atlantic and establish colonies in the name of religious freedom, yet the fact that these men *were* their fathers, leads us confidently to expect that the founding of the church was contemporaneous with the founding of a settlement.

"*Like father, like son.*" So, noble sons of noble sires had learned the experiences of the elders and had received a thorough training in the traditions, growing out of the acts which had made history. We have only to recall, therefore, that this section of Ohio was settled in a great measure by Puritans from Massachusetts, Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and Quakers and Germans, also from our eastern neighbor, to at once conclude that the statement made in the previous paragraph is a correct one.

While, figuratively speaking, the Lilies of France once floated over this section of Ohio, and we might with some degree of assurance look for the presence of the Jesuit missionary in these parts, yet we have no record of any of these black cowed messengers of the Cross ever being in this region. Yet, we are quite certain that their influence was felt upon the Indians who

made these hills their hunting grounds as a subsequent statement will show.

To Christopher Gist, the Man with Compass and Pen, belongs the recorded honor of being the first to expound the Gospel in the Muskingum Valley. On his celebrated journey, to spy out the land for the benefit of the First Ohio Company in the winter of 1751, he finds himself with a motley company of trappers, traders and Indians at the junction of the Walhonding and the Tuscarawas Rivers. It is Christmas Day, and while he is not an ordained minister and never studied theology, he proceeds to hold services in accordance with the Episcopalian Book of Prayer, which he had brought all the way from the Yadkin in his knapsack. He also sought to explain, according to his own words, the "doctrine of salvation, faith and good works," seemingly much to the satisfaction if not to the edification of his miscellaneous congregation. At least, we are led to the belief that Christopher Gist would have made quite as much of a success as a missionary as he did a traveler, writer and diplomat. For the Indians were immensely pleased. They wanted Gist to live with them and to baptize them. They promised *never again* to listen to the French priests, and the lay-preacher had a hard time explaining that he was not a minister.

This same Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum Valley likewise calls to mind the activities of the noble and consecrated Moravian Brethren. The events connected with their attempts here in Ohio are so well known that only for the exalted type of their labors and the intense devotion to their cause, a passing notice would be sufficient.

It is around the labors of David Zeisberger, missionary, preacher and teacher, that the Moravian history of Ohio assembles. At the age of fifty, in 1771, we find him an invited guest in the wigwam of the chief of the Delaware Indians in Oxford Township, Tuscarawas County, Ohio. The next year, with the assistance of John Heckewelder, he establishes his community at Schoen-Brunn near New Philadelphia. In the course of a few years this had grown into a cluster of Christian communities. Here dwelt in peace and prosperity many scores of Indian families under the leadership of the devoted missionary and his

self-sacrificing assistants. The church erected at Schoen-Brunn held five hundred, and often its capacity proved too small for the congregation. Here on Easter Day 1774 the Easter morning litany of the Moravian Church was rendered in the Delaware language. The Indian Brethren were taught to work as well as to worship; to love peace; to hate fire-water.

Such success was not permitted to continue. The Revolution brought on its troubles. Verily a neutral hath a hard time of it—loved by none and suspicioned by all. The crisis was reached in 1781, when by order of the British commandant at Detroit, Zeisberger and his co-workers were arrested and carried from the scenes of their labors. Then followed, the next year, the awful massacre of ninety of the Brown Brethren at Gnadden-hutten by an American militia and the ship-wreck of his efforts seemed complete. Then for nigh two-score years, David Zeisberger was a veritable Moses, leading the remnant of his devoted followers from place to place in the American wilderness. In 1798 he returned to the Tuscarawas valley, now an old man, and at Goshen helped to re-build out of the ashes new "Tents of Grace." Here, yet, in this vicinity in several prosperous church homes, Moravian Brethren gather Sunday after Sunday and worship as did Zeisberger and his Brown Brethren more than a century ago.

Of but one other movement belonging to the period preceding that of actual organized settlement do we find any record. In 1785 General Butler, who was sent to drive the "squatters" from the land in the Seven Ranges in what is now on Short Creek in Harrison county, notes in his Journal "the people of this country appear to be much imposed upon by a sect called Methodists and are become great fanatics." This means that the Methodist circuit-rider had made his appearance with the first sporadic settlement. We have the record that two years later (1787) Rev. George Callahan, of the Virginia District, preached to these same people at Carpenter's Fort, on Short Creek.

The reference to fanatical Methodists leads us to remark that the intolerance of the various sects for each other was simply appalling compared with our views on such matters today. Something similar to the above is found in the records of a Lu-



theran missionary, who inquired once of a Methodist brother if there were any German Lutherans in the vicinity. The reply was that there were none, that all they had was a "pack of corrupted Baptists."

At this place it is quite appropriate to parenthetically call attention to the oft-repeated, "education, religion, and morality" clause of the famous Ordinance of 1787, under whose organic control the settlements of Ohio were now to be established. This is ever regarded as a fundamental guarantee for the encouragement and protection of religious development in the Northwest Territory.

In this connection, it is likewise well to be reminded of the bargain struck by Manasseh Cutler with the dying Congress of the Confederation, viz., the giving as a perpetual endowment of one thirty-sixth of all lands in the Ohio Company's Purchase for the support of the churches which might be established. This "section twenty-nine" is quite interesting enough and there is sufficient material connected with its history alone to warrant the consideration of a paper longer than this is going to be. Suffice it to say these expressions of interest in religious matters manifestly indicated the character of the men whom we regard as the fathers of the Commonwealth. It is therefore easy to see why so many of the original settlements were made in connection with the church, the minister usually coming with his people.

But it is not easy to explain why the Marietta settlers, although they held services from the beginning, did not organize a congregation for eight years after their settlement was made.

The first sermon seems to have been preached by the Rev. Daniel Breck on Sunday, July 20, 1788. The services were conducted in the same bower where a few weeks before they had held their Fourth of July exercises. There were about 300 present. The reverend gentleman remained at Marietta about a month and preached for them each Sunday during his stay. The day after he left, Dr. Manasseh Cutler arrived and for three successive Sundays he preached at the block-house. From now till a regular pastor, Daniel Story, of Boston, arrived in the spring of 1789, it seems that different laymen acted in the preacher's capacity. The Rev. Mr. Story's salary was the

equivalent of about five dollars a week and his board, a part of his salary being paid out of the Treasury of the Ohio Company. Soon preaching stations were established at Waterford and Belpre, Mr. Story attending there also.

In December, 1796, steps were taken for the organization of a congregation. A comprehensive confession of faith and a covenant was drawn which might be easily subscribed to by both Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Rev. Mr. Story, who had in the meantime returned to the East, was called as the regular pastor. His ordination occurred in Massachusetts at the hands of Dr. Cutler, and in 1799 he returned to take charge of the congregation, which he served till within a few months of his death in 1804. This congregation is still in existence and worships in what is known as the "Two-Horn Church" in Marietta.

In these days of wonderful Sunday School activity, it is interesting to be reminded of the first one in Ohio. During the Indian Wars, which lasted from 1791 till 1795, the officers at Marietta ordered the families to retire within the fortifications. About thirty families took refuge within the stockade at Campus Martius. Among them was the wife of a settler, Mrs. Mary Bird Lake, a woman of philanthropic spirit. She conceived the idea of assembling the children, who were wont to play, in the stockade on Sunday afternoons and teaching them Scripture lessons and portions of the Catechism. She continued these services till within a year of her death in 1796. She is said to lie in an unmarked grave at Rainbow, about eight miles from Marietta.

In point of time the Presbyterians were the next to leave their impress on the Muskingum Valley, although this denomination had succeeded in organizing congregations at both Cincinnati and Chillicothe previously. These first movements of Presbyterianism in the Muskingum country are difficult to separate from those across the ridge on the many streams that flow into the Ohio in the counties of Jefferson, Harrison, Belmont and Monroe. They all belong together. The congregation organized at Short Creek, Jefferson County, in 1797, embraced the region on both sides of the divide. Soon it was divided owing to increase of population: then in a few years it was again separated. By this process of division as the result of addition, the star of

Presbyterianism moved westward. And it was rapid. In 1803, it had reached Newark, when the Rev. John Wright, a missionary, arrived in that city then consisting of six log cabins and a tavern. There was just one Presbyterian family in town. The town was full of people who had come to attend a horse race the next day, although it was Sunday. Needless to say, the people were mostly full, too. The minister was importuned to join in their hilarity and threatened a ducking if he refused. Upon learning that he was a member of the cloth, they desisted and offered to attend his services the next day if he would postpone it till after the races. Not complying with this generous offer, he preached twice, the second time on Sabbath desecration. Whether the crowd was penitent or not, we do not know, but one of the horse racers acted as deacon by taking up a collection. He collected seven dollars. Three years later a congregation was established.

The first Presbyterian church in what is now Guernsey County was established at Cumberland in 1812. As intimated before, numerous Quakers from Pennsylvania and North Carolina were among the settlers of Eastern Ohio. Like the Presbyterians, they soon spilled across the ridge into the Muskingum headwaters. It was in 1800 that the first Friends' meeting west of the Ohio River was held. Unlike the Presbyterians perhaps because they were fewer in number they did not spread very far westward into the Muskingum Valley. The church on Stillwater in the western part of Belmont county was organized in 1804 and the first sermon preached was by a woman named Ruth Boswell. The congregation is still in a flourishing state.

The Lutheran movement was not so extended, since the German element was not so plentiful at an early date. The upper courses of the Tuscarawas, however, saw quite a few of this denomination seek the rich valleys. As early as 1805, Rev. William Foster was sent as a missionary to Ohio, looking up the scattered German settlements. At New Reading in Perry County, in 1805, he organized the first congregation of the Lutheran faith. This congregation is still active as is another one organized the next year a few miles away. Rev. Foster also

established the church at Somerset in 1812. The building boasted of a genuine pipe organ, built by one of the members. Here six years later the Ohio Synod was organized.

Mention has already been made of the coming of the itinerant Methodist preacher. In 1795-96 Revs. Samuel Hill and John Reynolds rode a circuit extending from the Muskingum river to Pittsburgh and Washington County, Pennsylvania, on the east.

In the records of Bishop Asbury we find that renowned traveling preacher passing through the Muskingum country on various occasions. This can also be said of the Reverend J. B. Finley, surveyor, Indian scout, and divine, one of the first traveling evangelists in the state. He had come from North Carolina and he preached all over Ohio when it was entirely a wilderness.

The Catholic church naturally did not have many advocates among the early Ohioans when we recall their respective nationalities. So we can not look for much activity except in isolated cases. Such a one is the St. Michael settlement on Duck Creek in Noble county. Here in 1803, one James Archer brought his numerous family from Virginia and originated what is still known as the Archer settlement. Being a devout Catholic, he at once began religious services, which have been maintained ever since three church buildings have been erected in the century of its history and the congregation is still a strong and prosperous one.

Only a few years subsequent, Bishop Fenwick, the missionary priest of Ohio, in traveling over the famous Zane's Trace, reached the tavern of John Fink at Somerset. Upon discovering that his host was a Catholic, he celebrated mass within the rude home of the pioneer. Bishop Fenwick was a priest of the Dominican Order which had established a convent at St. Rose, Kentucky.

The Ditto and Fink families had entered at the land office three hundred and twenty-nine acres located two miles south of Somerset. This they donated to Father Fenwick for the purpose of establishing a church and convent of the Dominican Order. At the beginning, the congregation consisted of but six families. The church and convent is still in existence and from



the beginning to within a few years it was the headquarters of that Order in America. From its halls its preachers went into all parts of the country.

We now find our time gone and we are only getting into out subject. Other events are quite as interesting and valuable but we have restricted ourselves to the very first as closely as possible, and the half has not been told.

Some one ought to write a history of the first forty years of religious development in Ohio. With its account of God-fearing men and women, who hungered for the Manna of Life in their wilderness home, with its story of the splendid band of consecrated men of God, who had but one passion, namely, to win souls, with its narrative of struggle and sacrifice to build these first temples. Nothing in our state history has such absorbing interest, such vital realities and such permanent results in the establishment of our Commonwealth.

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#### EARLY NEWSPAPERS IN THE VIRGINIAS.

DR. HENRY S. GREEN.

Sir William Berkeley, twice governor of Virginia, made answer to the inquiries of the Lords of the Committee for the Colonies in 1671, during his second term of office, and one of his replies to their questionings was as follows:

"I thank God that we have not free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both."

This pious protest of Governor Berkeley was uttered more than thirty years after the importation of a press into the colony of Massachusetts and nearly forty years after the founding of Harvard, and it has been held to indicate that the cavalier civilization which grew up about the Jamestown settlement, was more conservative in its attitude toward learning and literature than the puritan civilization of New England. However, the printer's devil began to get in his work in Virginia long before the expiration of the hundred years' respite for which Governor Berkeley

had so fervently hoped. The prejudice against printing appears, indeed, to have been governmental and gubernatorial rather than popular, for the colony had made no law on the subject, and the inhibition against printing rested solely on administrative orders. When in 1681, an adventurous spirit, John Buckner, imported a printing press into Virginia, he was promptly called before the governor and council and ordered to enter into bond "not to print anything hereafter until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known."

Apparently it was not His Majesty's pleasure that any such dangerous piece of political machinery should be operated in the colonies if His Majesty could prevent it, so we find the governor of Virginia in 1683 getting express orders from British headquarters not to allow any person to use a printing press in the colony on any occasion whatsoever. The royal prohibition and gubernatorial diligence were potent enough to keep type and presses out of the colony until the power of example in those colonies which afterward became the New England and the Middle states, caused the colonists in Virginia also to recognize the function of the printer — though at first the recognition was on an extraterritorial basis. William Parks was the first duly appointed "printer" to the colony of Virginia, and he received a subsidy or salary of two hundred pounds a year, his press being located at Annapolis, Maryland, where he published the Maryland Gazette, established in 1727.

Soon after his appointment as printer to the colony, Parks was allowed to open a printing office at Williamsburg and to issue a newspaper. It was established in 1736 and was called The Virginia Gazette. It was ordinarily printed on a half sheet of foolscap paper. This first journalistic venture in the Virginias seems to have followed quite closely the Scriptural injunction of obedience to the "powers that be." On the death of Wm. Parks in 1750 the paper suspended publication for a few months, but it was revived under the same name by William Hunter in 1751 and appears to have survived until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, for in 1776 there were two papers published at Williamsburg — the only two then existing in the Virginias — and each of them was named the Virginia Gazette.

The political storm which was to break in the seventies began to mutter in the years that followed the revival of Parks' venture by Hunter, and the old Gazette was so entirely subservient in its editorial policy to the British crown and the crown's gubernatorial representative that it became unpopular with many of the colonists. It has been said that a few years later the young Thomas Jefferson and some of his friends desired a more "independent paper," and they induced William Rind to embark upon the publication of a new Gazette which should be "open to all parties, but subservient to none." I have failed to find any indications, either in the writings of Jefferson or in the extant copies of Rind's Gazette, that Jefferson himself had anything to do with the paper's establishment or that he ever contributed to its columns. The second Virginia newspaper was launched in May, 1766, "at the beginning," as Jefferson says, "of the Revolutionary disputes." And the new paper became the medium of publication for many articles which were unfavorable to the colonial government. During the first year of its existence it carried at its masthead the legend, "Published by authority," but from the second year it omitted that declaration. The subscription price of the new Gazette was 12S 6d per year.

This new Gazette carried in its columns much live matter that bore on the colonists' grievances, and it did to some extent for public opinion in Virginia what the spy of Worcester did for public opinion in Massachusetts in the decade that preceded the outbreak of the Revolution. In all the colonies at this time there were published only a few over thirty papers, and not more than four or five of them gave much attention to the discussion or presentation of current public opinion. The real medium through which the printing press contributed to the revolutionary cause was the occasional political tract or pamphlet.

Like all pre-revolutionary colonial newspapers, the two early Virginia specimens were printed on half-sheets of paper of varying shapes and sizes. Seven by nine and seven by thirteen inches were very common sizes, and a half sheet would contain from 3,000 to 7,000 ems of printed matter according to size of type used, the contents of about one or two columns of the New York Herald of today. Paper was very scarce and very expensive, and

it was quite impossible to obtain any considerable quantity of uniform weight and character. The composition, typography and press work of the early colonial newspapers compare favorably with those of English papers of the same period. As in those same English papers, the colonial compositors made a most reckless and prodigal use of capital letters, capitalizing all nouns and as many other words as their fancy dictated.

The earliest paper published in the territory now embraced within the borders of West Virginia was called the Potomac Guardian and Berkeley Advertiser. It was established at Martinsburg by Dr. Robert Henry. The earliest copy extant, so far as I have been able to ascertain, bears date of April 3, 1792, and is numbered 73 of Vol. II which indicates that the paper was founded in 1789. This copy of the paper is in the Virginia state library at Richmond. It is printed on a sheet of paper nine by fifteen inches and is a fair specimen of the newspaper work of its time. The second paper established in West Virginia territory was also published at Martinsburg in 1799 and was edited by Nathaniel Willis, father of the poet, Nathaniel Parker Willis. It was called the Martinsburg Gazette. One year later, in 1800, also at Martinsburg, appeared the Berkeley and Jefferson County Intelligencer and Northern Neck Advertiser, the publisher being John Alburtis. Files of this publication, extending from 1802 to 1808 are available and constitute a most valuable source of historical material.

Other early papers of the eastern panhandle, copies of which are still extant, are Farmer's Repository (Charlestown) 1808, 1814-16, 1826, Martinsburg Gazette, 1818, American Eagle (Shepherdstown) 1818, Virginia Monitor (Shepherdstown) 1821, The Journal (Shepherdstown) 1828, The Potomac Pioneer, (Shepherdstown) 1830. Virginia Republican (Martinsburg) 1847-1853, Virginia Free Press (Charlestown) 1831, 1836-37, 1858, Shepherdstown Register 1849-50, 1853-57, and subsequent periods.

In the Western Panhandle the earliest paper was the Repository, published in Wheeling, first issued in 1807, and during the first decade of the Nineteenth Century the total number of papers published in the state had grown from the two of 1776



to 26. Thomas' History of Printing, published in 1810, gives the list of papers then in being in the Virginias as follows:

<i>Name of Paper.</i>	<i>Place of Publication.</i>	<i>Politics.</i>
Virginia Patriot.....	Richmond .....	Federalist
Enquirer.....	Richmond .....	Republican
Virginia Argus.....	Richmond .....	Federalist
Norfolk Gazette.....	Norfolk .....	Federalist
Norfolk Herald.....	Norfolk .....	Neutral
Petersburg Intelligencer.....	Petersburg .....	Republican
Republican .....	Petersburg .....	Republican
Virginia Herald.....	Fredericksburg .....	Federalist
Republican Constitution.....	Winchester .....	Republican
Centinel .....	Winchester .....	Federalist
Winchester Gazette.....	Winchester.....	Federalist
Democratic Lamp.....	Winchester.....	Republican
Lynchburg Star.....	Lynchburgh .....	Republican
Lynchburg Press.....	Lynchburgh .....	Republican
Staunton Eagle.....	Staunton .....	Republican
Republican Farmer.....	Staunton .....	Republican
Washingtonian .....	Leesburg .....	Federalist
Republican Press.....	Leesburg .....	Republican
Republican Luminary.....	Wythe C. H.....	Republican
Holstein Intelligencer.....	Abingdon .....	Republican
Virginia Telegraph.....	Lexington .....	Federalist
Monongalia Gazette.....	Morgantown .....	Republican
Farmer's Register.....	Charlestown .....	Republican

As only the last two papers on the list were located in West Virginia territory, it would seem that the other papers established earlier than 1810 in the Eastern and Western Panhandle had by that time succumbed to the vicissitudes that have ever beset the business, and this is not the only ground to be found in the history of Virginian and West Virginian newspapers tending to verify Franklin's observation that "the business of a printer was generally regarded as a poor one."

One of the two Virginia papers listed by Thomas as existing in 1810 within the West Virginia limits is the Monongalia Gazette, and this paper had been established in 1803, previous to which time the Pittsburg Gazette had been the sole purveyor of news and vehicle for advertising in the Monongahela basin. The Pittsburg paper had established a post route in 1793

from its base of publication to Morgantown, distributing its publication by private post riders. Clarksburg's first paper appeared in 1815, and Fairmont's about 1840; Parkersburg's earliest journalistic venture was in 1833, and the first papers printed in Charleston were the *Spectator* established in 1818 or 1819, the *Kanawha Patriot* 1819, the *Western Courier* in 1820, and the *Western Register* in 1829.

During the colonial period, in the Virginias, as elsewhere in the country, most readers of books and papers preferred the imprints that came from across the water to those produced in the colonies. Such papers as were circulated dealt almost entirely with European news and politics. With the most indifferent postal facilities, the circulation of each paper was limited almost entirely to the immediate community in which it was published. It was not until the controversy arose which led to the Revolutionary struggle that the press of the country began to exercise to any considerable extent the function of presenting and leading public opinion. The publishers of the colonial papers were in the first instance printers, and the publication of a "gazette" from their printing offices was more or less an incidental side issue. As the press in all the colonies was under strict censorship, the expression of opinion was under irksome restraint, and the anonymously published, surreptitiously printed tract or pamphlet was the only medium whereby an article which had failed to commend itself to "His Majesty's pleasure" could be given to the public.

With the declaration of independence and the establishment of the same by the events of the war, all this was changed, and the papers which were established in rapidly increasing numbers throughout the country began to be edited and conducted by men, not necessarily printers, who had a message of some sort to give the public as a part of the service of the newspaper. One of these papers of the new type was the *Richmond Enquirer*, established in 1804, by Ritchie and Worsley and edited for more than forty years by Thomas Ritchie, who has some title to be regarded as the father of Virginia journalism.

The early newspapers had of course, none of the organized facilities for the collection and distribution of news enjoyed by

modern journalism. The nearest approach to a press service came with the legislation in congress authorizing free exchange of papers through the post office among all editors and publishers. This policy was adopted in 1792, and congress took action from time to time to expedite and facilitate those exchanges, establishing an "express service" between eastern cities and the principal places in the west by act of Congress July 2, 1836. Clippings from the exchanges supplied the material now furnished by the modern press bureau or news service.

Browsing among some of the old newspapers of the early days in the Virginias, copies of which are preserved at the Department of Archives and History at Charleston, I have selected a few items as illustrative of the kind of material out of which the publishers made up their papers in the early days of the republic, of the form in which they presented this material, and of their attitude toward the communities served by their papers and toward the questions of public interest with which they dealt.

The Kanawha Spectator, No. 37, a fugitive, mutilated copy of which appears to have been published in August, 1821, (the date line is partly torn away) was conducted by H. P. Gaines, was also, as evidenced by an ad that seems to have been running since October 21, 1820, practiced law in the local courts. In the advertisement he says:

"The subscriber respectfully informs the public that his duties as an editor of a newspaper will not prevent him from practicing law in the county and superior courts of Kenhawa; but he cannot attend any other courts. He intends keeping on hand at his printing office, blank deeds and other instruments of writing; and will at all times fill them up for those who may apply."

The leading editorial of the issue is given up to a discussion of the thesis that "the trial by jury is the great Palladium of Liberty." Something must recently have gone wrong with one of the editor's jury cases, however, for he says as to this general observation that

Where we apply it to such juries as the sheriffs sometimes pick up about the tipling houses of our towns and courthouse yards, it will be mene, mene, tikel upharsin. I very much fear that a spice of ambition or ill-will against one of the parties, and an undue partiality in

favor of the other, gains such ascendancy over the minds of some of our juries in Virginia and all other places in which the sheriffs are equally careless in selecting them, that strict and impartial justice and the voice of the law have no influence on their determinations.

This lawyer-editor also has a criticism for the law's delay, complaining that "if all the members composing this court had done their duty as well as those residing in Charleston and its vicinity, they would probably have gone through the docket, but little was done besides trying the commonwealth's cases."

The following ad is interesting as showing the state of trade, the market for certain products being apparently dependent on opportunities for barter:

The subscriber will give a liberal price in salt or good trade for any quantity of flax seed, which may be brought to him at Charleston Kenhawa.

ROBERT TITUS.

Another ad on the front page next to reading matter appeals to the "owner" of a property right which has gone quite out of fashion. It reads as follows:

A negro girl who is acquainted with house work may be hired upon good terms to a man in this town with a small family, if immediate application be made. She will be taken by the month or year and payment made to suit the owner. Enquire at this office.

The coal mining business of West Virginia at this period, as may be inferred from another ad, was subsidiary almost entirely to the demands of the great salt industry. Under the headline "Collier Wanting" it is set forth that

From 10 to 20 steady and industrious men, who understand digging coal, may obtain high wages in Kenhawa for that business, if immediate application is made to Dr. Putney, or any other manufacturers of salt who use coal at their furnaces.

The following reference to an "elopement" of the day also appears in the advertising columns of the Spectator:

**\$10 REWARD.**

Ran away from the boat of Mr. Emzy Wilson while at or near Johnson's shoals, Kenhawa county, a negro woman named Judy, about 22 years old \* \* \* her dress when she eloped, a dark calico, her



other clothes not recollected. It is supposed that she is skulking about in the mountains on Kenhawa river.

The Kanawha Patriot of September 12, 1840, reprints from the Madisonian a long dialogue reported by Peter Ploughboy who takes the Van Buren administration severely to task on the charge of extravagance. Tables of figures set forth that the average expenditure per annum by Van Buren had been \$37,135,654.33, while under General Washington it had cost the country only \$1,986,524.82 to run the government, making a difference of \$35,149,130.61.

By this it appears that the average under Mr. Van Buren is very nearly thirty-six times greater than it was under Washington. Well, I don't know what YOU think about it, Squire Capias, but I should say it was a pretty considerable specimen of "tall walking" into the people's pockets. It is doing business on a big scale.

It is needless to state that the Patriot was a vigorous supporter of the Tippecanoe ticket and very hostile to Locofocoism in all its manifestations.

The Kanawha Register of March 5, 1830, remarks editorially that Rail Roads maintain the good opinion formed of them in England; or, rather, the calculations concerning them are raised higher and higher. One an hundred miles long is constructing, from Paris to the Loire and others are projected. That from the city of Charleston, S. C., is proceeding with considerable activity. The great work at Baltimore has been checked by the severity of the season, but all things are ready to complete about twenty miles of the road at an early day.

The same copy of the Register contains long quotations from the English papers detailing a series of experiments in the operation of railroad locomotives over measured stretches of track at London. It tells how a locomotive of a new type,

The novelty, went off from the starting post at 12 miles per hour and her velocity increased during the whole trip. The mile between the quarter post and the judges' tents was run in 2 minutes and 54 seconds, at the rate of 21 1/6 miles per hour.

The same atricle relates that Mr. Stephenson's Rocket

was stripped for the race, all load was taken off from behind, including even the tender carriage with the water tank.

In this racing form the famous Rocket

was started off, and performed the 7 miles in the incredibly short space of 14 minutes, being at the rate of 30 miles an hour.

The Kanawha Jeffersonian edited by C. F. Cake had its troubles from time to time, as the leading editorial of August 20, 1842, indicates.

In consequence of the river running down, our paper running out, and no boats running up, we are compelled to issue rather a small sheet this week, but we assure our readers it is of the same family, only a young'un. Our paper was ordered some weeks ago, but unfortunately the supply at the Point was out, and the river so low that none could be had from Wheeling. There has since been a rise in the Ohio, and next week we hope to spread before our readers our usual sized sheet.

Mr. Cake had recently acquired control of the Jeffersonian from John J. Hickey, Esq., and the Richmond Compiler makes mention of the editorial change with the friendly wish that

the efforts of Mr. Cake, like bread cast upon the waters, will return after many days.

The Compiler was a Whig organ, but the editor of the Jeffersonian did not allow its friendly good wishes to temper his references to his political opponents in general. Commenting on the worthless character of the issues of a certain bank in Illinois, as to the reliability of which an inquiry had been made, the Jeffersonian promptly shunts the blame for a disordered finance on the other political party, saying:

We shall be glad to learn where there is a bank that can be relied on now-a-days. Let the people stick to their principles and firmness, and not be led away by Federal Whig Demagogues, and after a little we will bring these Bank gentry, and all aristocracies and monopolies to a proper focus—no mistake in that.

That the people west of the mountains were dissatisfied with their representation in the old state government appears here and there in the columns of these early newspapers of Western Virginia. The Jeffersonian from which I have been quoting contains a resolution which had been adopted by a Lewisburg convention as follows:

*"Resolved,* That a committee of persons, be appointed and instructed to prepare a memorial to the General Assembly, of the Commonwealth previous to its next session, praying that Honorable body, in terms befitting freemen, to increase the representation of this state according to the provisions, of the fifth section of article III of the amended Constitution, and to assign the increased number of Senators and Delegates to the trans-Alleghany section of this Commonwealth; or if that be declined, to pass a law for holding a convention, based on the whole white population, to alter and to amend the constitution as in their inherent right to "alter amend or to abolish their form of Government, as may seem to them good."

There were numerous warnings even earlier than the date of the Lewisburg resolution tending to show the imminence of a division of the state, and many were the speculations indulged in by the early press as to the form the ultimate and inevitable division would take. The Kanawha Banner of December 17, 1830, says editorially:

"The Virginia legislature will convene on Monday. To the proceedings of this body we look with intense interest. Matters of great moment will come before this body, and the discussions will be as interesting as those of the late convention. The preservation of the state, we believe, will depend upon this legislature. Disregard the claims of the trans-Allegheny counties to what they deem a proper share of the fund of the internal improvement, and a division of the state must follow—not immediately perhaps, but the signal will be given for the rising of the clans, and they will rise. It is not worth the while now to speculate upon the mode or manner in which the government will be opposed. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. But a crisis is approaching. The northwestern counties demand to be separated from the state with a view of attaching themselves to Maryland or Pennsylvania, the southwestern counties go for a division of the state into two commonwealths. Should the latter be effected, what will be our conditions in the valley? Infinitely worse than the present, the mere dependency of a government whose interest and whose trade would all go westward, we would be taxed without receiving any equivalent; and instead of being chastised with whips we would be scourged with scorpions. Of the two projects spoken of, that which would be least injurious to the valley and the state at large, would be, to part with the northwestern counties. Let them go. Let us get clear of this disaffected population. Then prosecute the improvement called for in the southwest, and that portion of our state, deprived of its northern allies, would give up their desire for a separation. To cement the union still firmer,

open the road from Winchester to Parkersburg, and we shall have a commonwealth, one and indivisible, so long as our republic endures."

On the whole the advertising matter of the early newspapers is quite as diverting reading as any of the news stories or even the efforts of the editorial writers to guide and mold public opinion, and much of the matter in the advertising columns is of first rate historical interest. The patent medicine man was abroad in the land, and his literature was spread abroad in the columns of the press of the early days.

The following delicious specimen of his literary art is taken from a paper which circulated freely in Virginia in the early days, though it was published in Maryland. In the front page, top of column, first column position of the issue of July 4, 1780, of the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, we read of

Dr. Ryan's incomparable worm-destroying sugar plumbs, necessary to be kept in all families; so exceedingly valued by all people who have had of them in Great Brittain and Ireland, for their transcendant excellency in the destroying worms of all kinds, both in the bodies of men, women, and children, \* \* \*

Among other remarkable therapeutic results to be expected from these transcendant sugar-plumbs it asserted that

Likewise settled, aches and pains in the head, swellings, old sores, scabs, tetters, or breaking-out will be perfectly cured, and the blood and skin restored to its original purity and smoothness, \* \* \* and what makes them more commendable is, they are full as agreeable to both taste and sight, as loaf sugar; and in their operations as innocent as new milk.

Nearly the whole of the first column of this newspaper is given to the "Incomparable sugar-plumbs" and to other remedies for the ills of humanity sold by Hughes & Williamson, Merchants, while the last two columns of the last page of the same issue contains the very latest news from the war zone, including a letter from General Washington to Congress dated at Whippany, June 25, 1780, telling of the operations of the army under Gen. Greene and the commanding general himself intended to frustrate the enemy's designs against West Point. An extract from another letter from General Washington dated two days later reads as follows:



RAMAPAUGH, June 27, 1780.

I arrived, after a severe ride on the evening of the 23rd. You will see the official Report of that Day's Transactions in the public Papers. In this and the former Incursion of the enemy, we calculate their loss at not less than 500, and in both you may be assured they have been greatly disgraced. They lost some valuable Officers. We have only to lament that of Captain Thomson, of the Artillery. They abandoned some Stores in their precipitated Retreat from the Point, which (although well fortified) fell into our Hands. Since this they have employed themselves in making Demonstrations with their Shipping up the North-River, and we have been marching until to Day that we take a Rest. Their Movements seem to look towards West Point, but in my Opinion they can have no other Object in view, but to embarrass our Measures. They have experienced that we are not yet so weak but that we have Spirit to fight them, nor the Militia so disposed as to lay down Their Arms. Both have, in a signal Manner, added to their Reputation—baffled the enemy, and preserved our stores from Destruction, which was least seriously intended.—West Point is now in a Condition beyond their Experiments, our Army in good Spirits, and the French Assistance soon expected. But with all this before us, every State, every Individual should feel, that to complete their Happiness, or to avert their Ruin, something more is necessary to be attended to than Wishes for our Success,”

The early newspapers of the Virginias, as was the case throughout the states which had been the thirteen colonies, multiplied rapidly in numbers with the transition from the colonial to the national regime. They extended their influence with improving facilities for gathering news and for reaching their subscribers and readers. Their horizon broadened with the removal of the old restrictions of colonial days, and the rising tide of popular sovereignty in state and nation swept away the old barriers that had been maintained against freedom of expression by way of the printed page. For that reason their columns furnish a rich mine of valuable historical material, presenting as they do a vivid and detailed picture of those interesting formative decades of our national life.

INFLUENCES OF EARLY RELIGIOUS LITERATURE IN  
THE OHIO VALLEY FROM 1815 TO 1850.

MRS. IRENE D. CORNWELL, CINCINNATI.

"A song for the Early Times out West,  
And our green old forest-home,  
Whose pleasant memories freshly yet  
Across the bosom come:  
A song for the true and gladsome life  
In those early days we led,  
With a teeming soil beneath our feet,  
And a smiling Heav'n o'erhead!  
Oh, the waves of life were richly blessed  
And had a joyous flow,  
In the days when we were pioneers long ago."

—*William Davis Gallagher.*

Records of discovery, exploration, adventure and early religious teachings abound in the Ohio Valley. The journals and writings of those who tell of the Indian Country before it was reclaimed for the uses of civilization "show, as it were, the dark theatre of history, ere yet the curtain had risen on the great play of State-making. \* \* \* "

When we read the interesting tales of Spanish, French and English travels in America in the years of the rivalry of Europe's leading nations for supremacy in the New World, we seem to realize the "beginning of the beginning." In many volumes of old books we learn what manner of men and women were those who first set foot in the western forests and dared the savages in their fierce struggle for life.

The beginnings of culture in the West were dependent on what was said about the country and the settlers. Many of the first books relating to the frontier were written by outsiders, travelers, whose aim was to tell the Old World what the New was like. There was much of this primitive literature and as settlement proceeded and society became organized there arose a rude literature to which the settlers themselves contributed much in the way of chronicle and description, and religious instruction.

The Jesuits, those heroic priests of the Christian religion, tell the absorbing story of a half century's endeavor to plant the

holy cross in the interior. As we read the tale, stranger than fiction, we float with them along unknown waters and "see the thronging savages in wigwam or woods, and smoke with them the pipe of peace; visit rude temples of the Great Spirit, and join with the gentle messengers of a new religion as they erect the cross in the shadow of the forest and sing the holy mass" in the dark wild woods.

The time was soon to come when, ascending the Ohio and every other stream that finds its way to the Mississippi the French would penetrate "the mystery of the interior" and bring back authentic information of that vast region between the Apalachians and the Mississippi.

We possess definite information concerning the impressions of many who explored the Ohio and its basin. We may very quickly give a long selected list of authors identified with the pioneer period of the Ohio Valley history, many of whom were preachers or religious instructors of those intensely interesting times. Some of the best literature in the English language is in the form of sermons and in them may be found as many strains of eloquence, as genuine oratory, as ready wit, as striking sentiments and as rich a style as in the finest efforts of a Shakespeare or a Swinburne.

The Lord certainly used His church and His preacher to accomplish a work of transcendent importance in the Ohio Valley. Social and religious feelings received intelligent guidance and contributed to the social and industrial progress of the region. The silent forces of religion are powerful and tell wonderfully on human progress. They became the precursor of a new life for the people of the Ohio Valley.

Even a slight study of the leading books of history of the period under discussion reveals to us a world of suggestive knowledge in regard, not only to the material features of the region, but yet more concerning the inhabitants, their origin, character, ideas, achievements and ambitions. We see the people at work, conquering savage nature and laying the foundations of science, literature, religion and art.

Ohio is without the advantages of two hundred years of intellectual and religious development which contribute to the

leadership of New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, she ranks among the first of her sister states in education, religion and literature.

Along all lines of professional, business and religious opportunity there comes trooping before us a princely host of Ohio's efficient sons and daughters and not among the least of these do we find the representatives from the Ohio Country. How can we account for our goodly heritage?

A Bryce would find ample reasons for the view that the material and political pre-eminence of Ohio, as of the nation at large, is chiefly due to the spiritual and intellectual life of the citizens. Dr. Bashford says that he is convinced that Ohio's character accounts for her conquest. "As Europe was sifted to produce the original colonists, so the colonies were sifted to produce the Buckeyes. Thus the citizens of Ohio are Americans of the Americans as Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews."

Puritans, Quakers, Cavaliers and Huguenots contributed the spiritual and mental vigor which accounts, in part at least, for the social and material, religious and moral advancement of our commonwealth. Christian missionaries;—Catholic, Quaker, Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist—accompanied and often preceded the pioneers and thus the early settlers of the Valley were molded by religious influences and literature.

The first quarter of the present century in the Western Country witnessed a general religious activity and the establishment of numerous sects. Jews, Catholics, Protestants and Agnostics, all, sought freedom to worship in the new country and took passage on the river craft at Pittsburgh for Kentucky, or Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois. Charges of infidelity and heresy were common. Thus religion was a subject ever before the minds of the people and having a most vital part in shaping the lives of the communities being formed.

The first printing done on the Western continent was by Spanish priests in Mexico. Stephen Daye brought the first press used in our country and set it up in 1638. The first printed work of any kind done in what is now the United States of America was the "Freeman's Oath" impressed on one side of a small



sheet of paper in 1639. The first book printed was the "Bay Psalm Book" dated 1640. Cornelius Vanderbilt paid \$1,200 for a copy of this book. The first newspaper established west of the Allegheny mountains was the Pittsburgh Gazette, July 29, 1786. Very quickly following in the wake of this publication came a long list of newspaper published in the Ohio Valley.

In 1824 the Postmaster-general reported that there were then 598 newspapers published in the U. S. Of these Ohio had 48; Kentucky, 18; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 5, and Tennessee, 15; a total of 98. The number at that date in New York was 137.

The obstacle to the introduction of printed books was not the want of a printing art but the difficulty and expense of obtaining paper. This was at first a great drawback to the progress of religious publication in the Ohio Valley. But the supply finally came, for the first of numerous paper mills on the Miami River was erected in the year 1814. The first type foundry on the Ohio was established in 1820 in Cincinnati. The newspaper offices were the first book publishing places in pioneer days and it was not uncommon for the backwoods editor and publisher to sell his publications at retail.

The first book published in the Ohio Valley appeared at Lexington in 1798. It was entitled, "A Process in the Transylvania Presbytery, etc." It grew out of a quarrel in the church as to whether the psalms of David or the hymns of Watts should be sung. It consisted of 98 pages in the old-fashioned nonpareil type of the last century and was bound in leather.

Carpenter and Findley, proprietors of the "Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette," published in that paper, under the date of August 19, 1801, the following: "Now in press and for sale at this office to-morrow, price 25 cents. A Book entitled, 'The Arcanum Opened, containing the fundamentals of a pure and most ancient theology:—containing the platform of the spiritual tabernacle rebuilt, composed of one grand substantive and seven excellent Topics, in opposition to spurious Christianity.' A liberal deduction will be made to those who take a quantity. No Trust." In 1823, Thos. T. Skillman of Lexington started the "Western Luminary," a religious periodical intended to counteract the influences of infidelity.

In 1824 the "Pandect," a religious periodical published by Rev. Joshua Wilson of Cincinnati, charged Rev. Timothy Flint with skepticism. Flint, in his reply, with dry sarcasm, questions the sincerity of some who profess extreme orthodoxy. Both men were able writers and contributors to these early magazines. The periodical was a literary feature of the period and many religious articles and discussions appeared in it. Writing for the *Western Literary Journal* and *Monthly Review* for November, 1840—(published at Cincinnati)—William Davis Gallagher says, "Here in the West our choicest thoughts flow through the dingy channel of a newspaper column and the aspiring among us seldom look higher than the elaborate essay for the monthly magazine."

The world has seldom witnessed a more extraordinary series of religious events than transpired in the Ohio Valley in the first half of the nineteenth century but notwithstanding the dissensions within old denominations and unprecedented splits and conflicts among new sects and the utter repudiation of religion by some, the churches grew and flourished. "The freedom to worship God, which the Pilgrims 'sought afar,' was found in the 'New England of the West' as Ohio was called." Religious liberty ran riot, and was not distinguished, in some cases, from license.

The "clash of creeds" gave origin to much discourse, oral and printed. Sermons and religious debates were heard by multitudes of listeners and read by other multitudes.

Every leading sect had its "organ" or periodical. Propagandists of new systems made extensive use of the press. Secular newspapers and magazines devoted many columns to news and discussions bearing on religious matters. In a word, "religious worship, Scripture reading, hymn singing, sermon hearing, and the perusal of controversial periodicals and tracts, attendance at camp-meetings, revivals, theological discussions and the universal custom of reading, thinking and talking on religious subjects had an immense influence in shaping the literature of the Ohio Valley in its beginning.

All social progress had an historical preparation. The early pioneers started out with strong physical energies. They were

of a noble ancestry and, generally speaking, men of sterling character. They possessed strong moral and religious ideas. They believed in the co-operative forces of religious principles to build up a national life. They believed that religion had an important relation to the welfare of the people and introduced its teachings. Conspicuous among their laws was that of civil and religious liberty. Religious literature has been one of the greatest moral forces in the conserving and promoting the fundamental principles of a Christian civilization and in contributing to the illustrious triumphs of the state and particularly in the Valley, where among the host of well-known names, we find that of the renowned Peter Cartwright, the presiding elder of Illinois—the type of Methodist pioneer minister, who had the power to create his own language. He is said to have had the best lexicon of western words, phrases, idioms and proverbs of any man in the West. His descriptive powers were wonderful.

Rev. Edward Thomson, D. D., LL. D., first president of Ohio Wesleyan University, possessed remarkable ability as an educator, writer and preacher. Four years editor of the *Christian Advocate*, his high scholarship, broad sympathy, eloquence and devotion were everywhere recognized. His published lectures are faultless in style and models of strong clear thought and beauty of expression. That interesting character, Jonathan Chapman, was not only a preacher but as he said, a “messenger sent into the wilderness to prepare the way for the people.” He always carried tracts and books, being zealous to plant ideas as well as apple seeds. Dr. Peck deserves more than a passing notice in the annals of western intellectual labor. He ranks as one of the ablest and most worthy of the religious pioneer writers. The eccentric evangelist, Lorenzo Dow, a sort of American Bunyan, was one of the most striking figures in religious annals. His sermons and writings were like himself, most unique. Add to these names the beloved Wm. H. Raper; that noted Presbyterian, Dr. Lyman Beecher; Rev. Timothy Flint, preacher and historian; Finney, McIlvaine, Gunsaulus, Alexander Campbell—and yet the list has not reached an end. With Ruskin we would say, “Everywhere noble life leaves the fiber of it interwoven in the work of the world.”

Each religious sect has had a goodly contribution to make to our early religious history. Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant have vied with each other in extending throughout the Western Country the uplifting influence of religion.

As the pageant of sects passes before us religious freedom is emblazoned on every banner. The Church of Wesley, nurtured in a college, has, from the first given attention to education and the dissemination of religious literature. Through all the ages the complaint of God against his ancient Church has proved true: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." Realizing that knowledge and piety are necessary adjuncts, the Methodists established in Cincinnati the Book Concern which has grown to such colossal proportions.

The species of literature which is most in demand and which is and was most widely read is that which issues from the periodical press. In 1826 the *Christian Advocate*—one of the mostly widely read religious magazines in the world was published in New York. In 1834, the demand having become so great in the South and West, the *Western Christian Advocate of Cincinnati* was commenced with equal success.

Dr. Martin Ruter, the first agent of the Book Concern, was an authority on Greek and Hebrew and one of the most cultured scholars of his time. In the beginning all books needed by him for the supply of the Western market were packed in New York and sent by wagons to Pittsburgh and from that point floated down the Ohio on steamboats or barges to Cincinnati. But the growing importance of the West, the rapid increase of its population, and the lack of means for easy transportation led to the printing of religious books and publications in Cincinnati in 1821 but the retail trade in the same did not begin until 1834, in which year the *Western Christian Advocate* was first issued. The growth of this periodical has been as wonderful as that of the Book Concern and it has been widely read by Ohio Valley Christians of all denominations.

But the Church of Wesley is only a type of religious influence on early literature in Cincinnati. St. Xavier's College on old Sycamore Street, the Hebrew Union College on Clifton Heights, and staunch old Lane Seminary that stronghold of



Presbyterianism on Walnut Hills, have all aided to make the Church History of the Ohio Valley the record of its civilization and progress. And not alone in Cincinnati but throughout the Western Country this influence was felt.

“Upon the Bible’s sacred page,  
The gathered beams of ages shine;  
And, as it hastens, every age  
But makes its brightness more divine.

More glorious still as ages roll,  
New regions blessed, new powers unfurled,  
Expanding with th’ expanding soul,  
Its radiance shall o’erflow the world.”

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#### LOCATION OF SITE OF OHIO CAPITAL.

BY E. O. RANDALL.

[Prepared for and read by title at the Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, Columbus, October 21, 1915.]

On the 13th of July, 1787, Congress, then assembled in New York, by a unanimous vote of the eight states present and the entire vote of the individual members, except Yates of New York, who opposed the measure, adopted the famous “Ordinance of 1787” establishing a government for the Northwest Territory.

On July 27, 1787, — two weeks later — Congress passed the ordinance of purchase — authorizing the Federal Government to sell to the Ohio Company a tract of land in the Northwest Territory by which, as Dr. Manasseh Cutler put it in his diary for that day, “We obtained the grant of near five millions of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars, one million and a half acres for the Ohio Company and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the prominent characters of America are concerned; without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company.”

The designation of the boundaries of this purchase is not pertinent to our purpose.

Pursuant to the above purchase by the Ohio Company, on April 7th, (1788) the forty-seven — (usually stated forty-eight)

but Col. J. R. Meigs did not arrive until the 12th (April) — male members of the band of plucky pioneers from New England, directed by General Rufus Putnam, embarked from the Ohio Mayflower and landed at the mouth of the Muskingum river and on the banks, opposite the site of Ft. Harmar, erected by the Federal Government in November, 1785, were greeted by the friendly band of Wyandot Indians under Captain Pipe. Here the sturdy adventurers established the first settlement in the Northwest Territory. They called the town "Marietta."

On the 5th of October, 1787, before a single emigrant had set out from the East for the Ohio country, Arthur St. Clair was chosen by the Continental Congress as Governor of the new territory. He arrived at Ft. Harmar July 9, 1788, remaining at the Fort until the 15th, when he was formally received at Marietta and delivered an address to which response was made in behalf of the colony by General Rufus Putnam. This was the initial scene of the establishment of civil government in Ohio.

By provision of the Ordinance of 1787 no legislature for the new territory could be chosen until the territory should contain five thousand male inhabitants. Meanwhile it was the duty of the Governor (St. Clair) and the three appointed judges, — James M. Varnum, Samuel H. Parsons and John Cleves Symmes, who was appointed in place of James Armstrong, first chosen but declining to serve, with their secretary, Winthrop Sargent, — to provide such laws as might be required.

These officials created a militia, the needed courts and decreed laws for the punishment of crimes.

On July 27th (1788) the Governor established by proclamation the county of Washington, bounded south by the Ohio river, east by Virginia and Pennsylvania, north by Lake Erie, west by the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas rivers as far south as Ft. Laurens, — built in the late fall of 1778 on the Tuscarawas near the mouth of Sandy Creek, a short distance from the present site of Bolivar, — thence west to the headwaters of the Scioto river, which from that point to its mouth was the western line of the new county.

The boundaries of this initial county included the territory now constituting the entire eastern half of Ohio and the eastern half of what was later Franklin county. The seat of govern-

ment for this, Washington county, as well as for the whole Northwest Territory, was at Marietta, and here the Governor and Judges officially resided and here on September 2, 1788, with fitting ceremonies the first Court in the territory was opened by the newly appointed common pleas judges, Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper and Archibald Crory.

Thus the first settlement and the first territorial capital in the Ohio country.

In October, 1787, John Cleves Symmes, formerly member of Congress (1785-6) from New Jersey and one of the territorial judges, having become familiar with the opportunities of Western realty investments, secured from the Continental Congress a contract of purchase for a million acres, fronting on the Ohio river, between the Little and Big Miami rivers.

Pursuant to this purchase Major Benjamin Stites, the fore-runner and advance agent of Symmes, with an adventurous troop of twenty-six colonists from the East, landed on November 18, 1788, just (one-half mile) below the little Miami, "on a low line plain exceedingly fertile, a portion of which was known as Turkey Bottom." In a few days Stites erected thereon some huts and a blockhouse and gave this second settlement in the Northwest Territory the name of "Columbia", — it is now within the present corporate limits of Cincinnati.

This second attempt at settlement in the Ohio country was directly followed by a third some four miles further down the river on the Ohio side immediately opposite the mouth of the Licking river. Its protagonists were Matthias Denman, Robert Patterson, and John Filson. The location was upon land purchased from Symmes and the landing and initial platting of the town was on December 28, 1780, some five weeks subsequent to the Columbia layout. Filson, a poet and classic scholar, dubbed the place "Losantiville", — meaning opposite the Licking River. Ten months later a detachment of troops from Ft. Harmar under Major John Doughty built within the precincts of Losantiville a formidable blockhouse, to which was given the name Fort Washington. It was visited in January, 1790, by the territorial governor, St. Clair, who, on approaching the settlement — so the story runs — stood on the roof of his boat and looking at

the cluster of cabins on the river bank, asked: "What in hell is the name of this town anyhow?" On being told it was "Losantiville" he promptly rechristened the baby burg "Cincinnati", which ever since it has been.

St. Clair at the same time (January 2, 1790) proclaimed the Symmes purchase, namely, the district between the two Miamis from the Ohio to the headwaters of the Little Miami, Hamilton County, and made Cincinnati the county seat. The site of Columbia was fated as a settlement, and was later incorporated into the precincts of the "Queen City" as Cincinnati was later regarded.

The first settlement in the Virginia Military District—the section lying between the Little Miami and the Scioto from the sources of these two rivers to the Ohio—was established at Manchester, on the Ohio, in 1791 by Col. Nathaniel Massie, one of the influential leaders of the Virginia and Kentucky migration to the country north of the Ohio. In the prosecution of his work as surveyor and land-acquirer, Colonel Massie explored the Scioto and in the spring of 1796 laid out the town of Chillicothe. Two years later, in August, 1798, St. Clair issued a proclamation creating Ross County, of which Chillicothe was made the seat of government.

The collateral chain of events transpiring meanwhile in the Northwest Territory needs no recital here. We refer to the Ohio Indian War; the futile expedition against the hostile Indians by General Josiah Harmer in September, 1790; the disastrous expedition of General St. Clair a year later in September, 1791, and the victorious campaign of General Anthony Wayne, beginning in October, 1793, and closing in the resultful battle of Fallen Timbers in August, 1794. This brilliant campaign of Wayne tranquilized the entire frontier from the Lakes to Florida, and culminated in the famous treaty of Greenville, August, 1795. It was this same month that Jay's treaty, calling among other articles for the evacuation of the border American Forts, still occupied by the British, was made public by Washington. The following year was a memorable one in the annals of the Northwest. It saw the fulfillment of the provisions of the Jay treaty and the tide of emigration from the east and south to the



trans-Alleghany, and trans-Ohio territory, set in with renewed energy.

Some six or seven counties had been established. The acquisition of the Western Reserve from Connecticut had been inaugurated and a settlement established by Moses Cleveland at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, and other settlements rapidly followed along the valleys of the Miami, the Scioto, the Muskingum and the Mahoning.

In 1790 the white population of the territory within the present area of Ohio had reached about three thousand; by 1798 it fulfilled the prerequisite of five thousand free male inhabitants of full age fixed by the Ordinance of 1787 for the choice of a territorial general assembly.

There were now the counties of Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair, Knox, Randolph, Wayne, Adams, Jefferson and Ross. Governor St. Clair ordered an election of territorial representatives to take place on the third Monday of December, 1798. The representatives must be free-holders, owning not less than two hundred acres each, and should be chosen by free-holders, owning not less than fifty acres each. The elected representatives, chosen from the nine counties convened at Cincinnati, February 4, 1799. It was their first duty to nominate ten residents of the territory, each possessing a free-hold of not less than five hundred acres, from whom a legislative council of five members—corresponding to the state senate—could be chosen by Congress. These appointments being made—by President Adams as Congress was not then in session—the first session—of the House of Representatives only—adjourned, without other transactions of importance, until September 16, 1798. The members of the First Council selected by President Adams from the legislative nominations were, Robert Oliver, of Washington County; Jacob Burnett and James Findlay, of Hamilton; David Vance, of Jefferson; and Henry Vandenburg, of Knox.

The Representatives in the general assembly were: Joseph Darlington, Nathaniel Massie, Adams county; William Goforth, William McMillan, John Smith, John Ludlow, Robert Benham, Aaron Caldwell, Isaac Martin, Hamilton county; James Pritchard, Jefferson county; John Small, Knox county; John Edgar, Randolph county; Thomas Worthington, Elias Langham, Samuel Findlay, Edward Tiffin, Ross county; Shadrack Bond, St. Clair county; Return Jonathan Meigs, Paul Fearing, Washington county; Solomon Sibley, Jacob Visgar, Charles F. Chabart de Joncaire, Wayne county.

The first general assembly — as such completely organized — of the Northwest Territory, comprising the Governor, the Council of Five, and twenty representatives, convened at Cincinnati September 16, 1799, and adjourned from day to day for lack of a quorum until September 23d, when Henry Vandenburg of Knox was elected President of the Council and Edward Tiffin, of Ross, Speaker of the House. On October 3d, the two Houses met in joint session and elected William Henry Harrison to represent the territory as delegate in Congress. This general assembly passed some thirty public acts, eleven of which Governor St. Clair vetoed. He by authority vested in him on December 19, 1799, prorogued the assembly to the first Monday of January, 1800.

Agitation for a division of the territory and admission of the eastern portion as a state had already begun and Harrison, delegate to Congress, urged the matter in that body. Congress finally determined the issue by an act passed May 7, 1800, making a division upon a line drawn from the mouth of the Kentucky river to Ft. Recovery and thence northwestward to the Canadian boundary. From the region west of that line the territory of Indiana was created and William Henry Harrison appointed Governor. The so-called Northwest Territory was now limited to the area east of the dividing line just noted and its seat of government was fixed at Chillicothe. The county of Knox falling wholly within the new territory of Indiana, Henry Vandenburg, who resided in that county, ceased to be a member of the legislative council for the Northwest Territory and was succeeded by Solomon Sibley of Detroit, Wayne County.

The first Territorial General Assembly held its second session at Chillicothe, beginning November 3d and ending December 9, 1800. It elected William McMillan of Cincinnati Territorial Delegate to Congress, in lieu of Mr. Harrison. The session was prorogued by Governor St. Clair. At the third and last session, which began November 24, 1801, which was a long and stormy session, acts were passed to incorporate the towns of Cincinnati, Chillicothe and Detroit, and to remove the seat of government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. The removal of the

capital aroused so much feeling in Chillicothe that for a time the members who voted for it were threatened with mob violence.

On January 23, 1802, the territorial general assembly adjourned to meet on the fourth Monday in November, 1802, but it never reassembled.

The acrimonious agitation for the establishment of the state was now on in full force. This proposition of statehood was favored and opposed by the respective prevailing parties. Statehood, according to the boundaries of the territory already established, was favored by the Republicans (Democrats) led by Thomas Worthington, Nathaniel Massie and Edward Tiffin. They were opposed by the Federalists (Republicans) led by St. Clair, Jacob Burnett, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Stites. The Republicans were successful.

The Ordinance of 1787 required as a condition to the admission of the territory as a state that it should contain sixty thousand free inhabitants. According to the census of 1800, it actually contained 45,365. This difficulty was removed by Congress which passed an act April 30, 1802, enabling the people of the eastern district of the aforesaid Northwest Territory to frame a constitution and organize a state government. This it was hoped would add another state to the Republican phalanx.

In furtherance of this enabling act a constitutional convention assembled at Chillicothe, November 1, 1802. It accomplished its work in twenty-five days. A speech of Governor St. Clair early in the proceedings of the convention created a political storm. It was in opposition to the formation of the new state and St. Clair criticised the administration of Thomas Jefferson. The Governor's removal from office by the President followed immediately. It took effect November 22, 1802, and Charles W. Byrd, then secretary of the territory, was appointed Governor to serve until the proposed state could be created.

The Constitution of 1802 defined the boundaries of the state, provisionally, and established the seat of government at Chillicothe until 1808. (Article VII, Section 4.) This Constitution was never submitted for popular acceptance or rejection at the polls. Congress affirmed it by act of February 19, 1803.

But the territorial government continued to and including

February 28th, as determined by act of Congress (Laws of U. S. Vol. 4, pg 4). On March 1, 1803, the Legislature assembled at Chillicothe and Ohio on that day became a member of the sisterhood of states.

Now we retrace our steps to catch the thread of our narrative.

Virginia authorized her soldiers of the Revolution to appoint a surveyor of the lands known as the "Ohio-Virginia Military District", which she had reserved from her Northwest cessions to the national government. They chose as such surveyor Col. Robert C. Anderson, a distinguished veteran officer of the Revolution, father of Major Robert Anderson, defender of Fort Sumter, and of Charles Anderson, Governor of Ohio. On July 20, 1784, Anderson opened an office for the survey of the Virginia bounty-land, on the present site of Louisville, Ky. Among the deputy surveyors whom he named were Nathaniel Massie, Duncan McArthur, John O'Bannon, Arthur Fox, John Beasley, and Lucas Sullivant.

Lucas Sullivant, a native of Virginia, an emigrant to Kentucky, was assigned to the northern portion of the Virginia Military District as the field of his surveying services. He began his operations in the spring of 1795. His experiences, as related in the Sullivant family memoirs, form one of the most romantic and thrilling stories of western pioneer adventure and achievement. In the course of his exploring meanderings and surveying expeditions Sullivant came upon what was then known to surveyors and map makers as the "Forks of the Scioto", the juncture of the Scioto and Whetstone, as it was then known, now the Olentangy. It was in the midst of the Ohio wilderness, and for decades a favorite locality for Indian villages, especially of the Mingo and Wyandot tribes—the great Mingo orator, Logan, had here at times resided among his Cayuga warriors.

While engaged in his surveying tours Sullivant, with the Anglo-Saxon landgrabbing instinct, selected choice tracts of land and located them in his own right. Indeed, so extensive became his real estate acquisitions that he was often spoken of as "Monarch of all he surveyed." His trained eye and prophetic vision particularly drew him to the region of the Scioto forks.



The fertility of the soil, the luxuriance of the forests, the centrality of location as to the Ohio rivers, the advantage of its location on the waterway route from the Sandusky and Scioto, connecting by the short portage Lake Erie on the north and the Ohio on the south.

Here in the midsummer of 1797 Lucas Sullivant laid out the town of Franklinton on the west bank of the Scioto, just south of the mouth of the Whetstone. He platted a considerable sized town and the sale of lots was announced for a certain day; but before the appointed time an inundation of all the low lands took place, an overflow of such an extent that it has since been known as the "great flood of 1798."

The real estate speculator then wisely extended his town plat to the high ground, a little farther west of the river and there, on the site of the present state hospital, Sullivant erected the first brick dwelling in the county, and established his permanent home, in which he resided at the time of his death.

Settlements rapidly followed, of emigrants from Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In August, 1798, the territorial county of Ross was proclaimed by Governor St. Clair. It embraced the field of operation of Sullivant, as just noted. From the northern part of this Ross county, Franklin county was set off by act of the first general assembly of Ohio, passed March 20th, to take effect April 30, 1803.

Franklinton lay within the boundaries of the new county and was made the county seat, and a county jail — usually the first requisite of the initiative of a Christian civilization — an edifice of hewn logs — was erected by Lucas Sullivant, at a cost of \$80. In 1808 a brick court house was erected from the clay of one of the ancient mounds in the neighborhood.

We cannot follow the career, conspicuous as it was, of Franklinton, which during the war of 1812 was for some time the headquarters of William Henry Harrison, and was the scene (June 21, 1813) of an important treaty between the general on the part of the United States, and the Wyandot Chief, Tarhe, who pledged the loyalty of his tribe to the American cause.

As we have already noted, the Ohio constitution of 1802,

fixed the seat of government at Chillicothe and decreed it should there remain until 1808, and the same document expressly forbade any expenditures for public buildings for legislative purposes until 1809.

The first general assembly, therefore, met in the Ross county court house, within which the territorial legislature had held its last session, and in which also the constitutional convention of the state had met. This building was a two-story stone edifice, the interior of which was inadequate for the housing of the legislature; it only accommodated the house of representatives, and the senate was provided for by a brick annex connected with the court house by a covered passage.

That the permanent seat of state government should be located at a point nearer the center of the state than Chillicothe was generally anticipated, and in that expectation every settlement in the state, even remotely eligible to win the prize, took timely steps to secure it. Franklinton, Delaware, Worthington, Zanesville, Lancaster, and Newark were the earliest and most insistent of these claimants. Other towns, and even uninhabited localities, later joined the list of proposed sites.

Pressed for proper accommodations and the importunities of the advocates of competing localities, the general assembly, at Chillicothe, passed an act February 20, 1810, providing for a commission of five members, to be selected by joint ballot of both houses to hear arguments, inspect localities and recommend a site for the permanent seat of government. The act read as follows:

AN ACT to provide for the permanent seat of government. Passed February 20, 1810. Ohio Laws, Volume 8 \* \* \*

Sections 1 and 2 provide for the appointment of five commissioners by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly, a majority of the board to be necessary for the recommendation of any particular site.

"SEC. 3. That after the commissioners shall have taken an oath or affirmation faithfully to discharge the duties enjoined on them by this act, they shall proceed to examine and select the most eligible spot, which in their opinion will be most central, taking into view the natural advantages of the state; Provided: It shall not be more than forty miles from what may be deemed the common centre of the state, to be ascertained by Mansfield's map thereof.

"SEC. 4. That after the commissioners shall have fixed on the most eligible spot, they shall make up a report of their proceedings and sign the same, seal it up and direct it to the speaker of the Senate, and forward the same to the senate, within ten days after the commencement of the next session of the general assembly; and if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the next general assembly, that the place fixed on is the most eligible place, they shall confirm the report of the commissioners, and proceed to take such further order thereon as to them shall appear most advantageous and proper.

"SEC. 5. That the commissioners shall meet at Franklinton on the first day of September next, to proceed to discharge the duties enjoined to them by this act, and shall each receive three dollars per day.

"This act to take effect from and after the commencement passage thereof.

EDWARD TIFFIN,  
*Speaker of the house of representatives.*

DUNCAN McARTHUR,  
*Speaker of the senate."*

In pursuance of this act, Senators James Findlay, W. Silliman, Joseph Darlington, Resin Beall and William McFarland were appointed commissioners. They visited Franklinton, but discarded its pretensions, condemning it because of its low situation, its subjection to inundation, and the unsuitableness of its plan of streets.

The commissioners then inspected various other localities with like result, and finally agreed to report: "That they have diligently examined a number of different places within the circle prescribed (forty miles from the common centre) and a majority of said commissioners are of the opinion that a tract of land owned by John and Peter Sells, situated on the west bank of the Scioto river, four miles and three-quarters west of the town of Worthington, in the county of Franklin, and on which said Sells now resides, appears to them most eligible." This was the site of the subsequent and present village of Dublin. This report, dated at Newark, September 12, (1810) and signed by all the Commissioners, was delivered to the general assembly on December 11, 1810.

The general assembly at the time of the reception of this report was in session at Zanesville, where a building for its especial accommodation had been provided. Here the sessions of

1810-11 and 1811-12 were held, and various additional proposals for the location of the capital as well as the report of the legislative committee were received.

No definite action was taken by the legislature in the session of 1810-11. Meanwhile the rival applicants pushed their respective claims upon the members of the general assembly, with all the ardor and boldness of undaunted lobbyists. Some of the original contestants subsided or withdrew from the field, while new parties made their appearance.

The original joint commission of five members having ceased to exist with the expiration of the session of the 9th General Assembly, the succeeding (10th) legislature, in its session of 1811-12, resumed the subject of a permanent capital site. The senate appointed a new committee of its members, consisting of Senators J. P. R. Bureau, J. Pritchard, David Purviance, George Tod and Samuel Evans.

On January 18, 1812, as the printed proceedings testify, Senator Evans in behalf of the committee to whom were referred so much of the unfinished business of the last (9th) session, relating to the fixing of the permanent seat of government, and who were directed to receive donations therefor, beg leave to report that they had received proposals for the following places, viz.: "Delaware, Sells Place [now Dublin], Thomas Backus's land (four miles from Franklinton, seven miles below Sells Place), High Bank opposite Franklinton, High Bank, Pickaway Plains and Circleville, Pickaway county." The prospective advantages of location and details of each proposed offer were briefly recited by Mr. Evans, as reported in the Senate Journal for that day.

The locality known as the "High Bank", nearly opposite to Franklinton, was offered by Messrs. Lyne Starling, John Kerr, A. McLaughlin and James Johnston.

The elevation there was reasonably good, and the opportunity for platting a town without hindrance from buildings, pre-arranged streets, or even clearings, was unlimited. The lands on the plateau had been patented as early as 1802 to John Halstead, Martha Walker, Benjamin Thompson, Seth Harding and James Price, all refugees of the War of Independence. The



original patentees had disposed of their titles, and these, after intermediate transmissions, had come into the hands of Lyne Starling, John Kerr, Alexander McLaughlin and James Johnston. Combining their interests, these four proprietors laid off a tract of about twelve hundred acres on the plateau, platted it, provisionally, into streets and squares, and submitted proposals, for the location of the seat of government thereon to the General Assembly at Zanesville. A copy of the plat accompanied their propositions, the full text of which was as follows:

ORIGINAL PROPOSALS OF THE PROPRIETORS OF  
COLUMBUS.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of Ohio:

We the subscribers do offer the following as our proposals provided the legislature at their present session shall fix and establish the permanent seat of Government for said State on the East bank of the Scioto river nearly opposite to the town of Franklinton on half sections Nos. 9, 25 & 26, and parts of half sections Nos. 10 & 11, all in Township 5 of Range 22 of the Refugee lands and commence their session there on the first Monday of December, 1817:

1st. To lay out a Town on the lands aforesaid on or before the first day of July next agreeably to the plans presented by us to the Legislature.

2d. To convey to the State, by general warranty deed in fee simple such square in said town of the contents of ten acres or near it for the public buildings and such lot of ten acres for Penitentiary and dependencies, as a director of such person or persons as the legislature will appoint or may select.

3. To erect and complete a State House, offices & Penitentiary & such other buildings as shall be directed by the Legislature, to be built of stone and Brick or of either, the work to be done in a workman like manner and of such size and dimensions as the Legislature shall think fit, the Penitentiary & dependencies to be complete on or before the first day of January, 1815, the Statehouse and offices on or before the first Monday of December, 1817.

When the buildings shall be completed the Legislature and the subscribers reciprocally shall appoint workmen to examine and value the whole buildings, which valuation shall be binding, and if it does not amount to Fifty thousand dollars we shall make up the deficiency in such further buildings as shall be directed by law, but if it exceeds the sum of Fifty thousand dollars the Legislature will by law remunerate us in such way as they may think just and equitable.

The legislature may by themselves or agent alter the width of the streets and alleys of said Town previous to its being laid out by us if they may think proper to do so.

LYNE STARLING. (seal.)

JOHN KERR. (seal.)

A. McLAUGHLIN. (seal.)

JAMES JOHNSTON. (seal.)

Attest:

WILSON ELLIOTT.

ISAAC HAZLETT.

These propositions were accompanied by the following bond:

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that we, James Johnson, of Washington County, Lyne Starling, of Franklin County, Alexander McLaughlin, of Muskingum County, & John Kerr, of Ross County, all of the State of Ohio, our heirs, executors, administrators or assigns do promise to pay to William McFarland, treasurer of said State, or his successors in office, for the use of the State of Ohio, the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars for the payment of which we do bind ourselves firmly by these presents, which are sealed with our seals and dated the 10th day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1812.

The condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bounden James Johnston, Lyne Starling, Alexander McLaughlin, & John Kerr, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, shall truly and faithfully comply with their proposals to the State of Ohio by erecting the public buildings and conveying to the said State grounds for the State House, offices and penitentiary they have proposed to do, then this obligation to be null and void, otherwise to be and continue in full force and virtue.

JAMES JOHNSTON. (seal.)

LYNE STARLING. (seal.)

A. McLAUGHLIN. (seal.)

JOHN KERR. (seal.)

In presence of

WILSON ELLIOTT.

ISAAC HAZLETT.

The absolute permanence of location on which the foregoing scheme was conditioned appearing to jeopardize its acceptance, the following supplementary proposals were submitted:

*To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of Ohio:*

We the subscribers do agree to comply with the terms of our Bond now in possession of the Senate of the State aforesaid, in case they will fix the seat of government of this State on the lands designated in their proposals now with the Senate, on the east bank of the Scioto

River, nearly opposite to Franklinton, and commence their sessions there at or before the first Monday of December, 1817, and continue the same in the town to be laid off by us until the year 1840.

The conditional proposals are offered by us for the acceptance of the Legislature of Ohio provided they may be considered more eligible than those previously put in.

JOHN KERR. (seal.)

JAMES JOHNSTON. (seal.)

A. McLAUGHLIN. (seal.)

LYNE STARLING. (seal.)

Witness

WILSON ELLIOTT.

February 11, 1812.

Mr. Evans closed his report by saying that "Your committee beg leave to recommend to the consideration of the Senate the following resolution :

*"Resolved, That a committee, to consist of \* \* \* members, be appointed to bring in a bill for fixing the permanent seat of government, on the lands of Moses Bixby and Henry Baldwin, agreeable to the first number of their written proposals."* — this was the Delaware site.

Mr. Evans himself dissented from the choice of the committee, though not otherwise expressing his preference.

The committee report was committed to a committee of the whole senate.

On January 20 the matter was taken up by the senate as a committee of the whole. The parties submitting the "High Bank opposite Franklinton" were permitted to withdraw their proposals, evidently merely for the purpose of some change in the conditions of their offer, for they were shortly thereafter before the Senate for further consideration.

February 4th, Mr. Evans made an additional report of some alterations in the Sells Brothers offer and also presented a renewal by James Kilbourn of the site of the town of Worthington, and an amended proposition from the Starling & Company people, as follows :

"The committee to whom were referred the proposals for fixing the permanent seat of government, begs leave to report. They have examined the proposals made since their first report, and find them as follows :

"Messrs. John and Peter Sells offers to lay out a town on their land, on such plan as the legislature will point out, and out of the same they will convey as much ground as may be necessary for a state house, offices & penitentiary, and moreover to build a state house, and such other houses as commissioners, to be appointed by the legislature, shall direct, provided that the same does not exceed twenty thousand dollars; which donation is to be made, if the legislature establishes the permanent seat of government on their lands, within three years.

"Messrs. Starling, Kerr, M'Laughlin and Johnston, offers to lay out a town on the east bank of Scioto river, nearly opposite the town of Franklinton; out of said town they will convey to the state, a square of ten acres for public buildings. They will, besides, build a good and commodious brick-house, for the use of the legislature, the same to be seventy by fifty feet, two stories high, with two wings, also two stories high, twenty by thirty-two feet. Also they will erect a penitentiary, equal in extent and accommodations, as the one in Frankfort, Kentucky; or they will erect one, one hundred feet in length, and twenty feet wide, two stories high. From said buildings shall extend walls twelve feet high at right angles, one hundred and sixty-feet, which shall be connected by a wall parallel to the penitentiary—the whole occupying a space of one hundred, by one hundred and sixty feet. To the penitentiary shall be appropriated ten acres of ground, for gardens.

All the buildings to be completed on or before the first Monday of December, eighteen hundred and eighteen. All which donations shall be given, on condition that the legislature will commence their sessions in said contemplated town, on the said first Monday of December, eighteen hundred and eighteen, and there thenceforward do continue.

Or in lieu of the foregoing offers, they the said Starling, Kerr, M'Laughlin and Johnston, will (if the legislature prefers it) erect in the town mentioned in their first proposals, such public buildings, not exceeding fifty thousand dollars, as the legislature will direct; they will have the buildings completed on or before the first Monday of December, eighteen hundred and seventeen. They will let the legislature choose the ground for the public square and the penitentiary, and direct the width of the streets and alleys.

*(Senate Journal, 1812—February 4—p. 102)*

The Senate committee on the seat of government asked for further time.

February 5th. The Senate as a committee of the whole continued its consideration of the site question. Mr. Purviance reported his committee had agreed to the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That a committee of three members (of the senate) be appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to fix and establish the permanent*



seat of government, at \* \* \*, agreeably to the propositions of \* \* \*; and that from and after the 1st day of May next, Lancaster shall be the temporary seat of government until otherwise directed by law."

Senator Joseph Foos, of Franklin, moved to fill the first blank — (of the site) — with these words: "the High Bank on the East side of the Scioto river, opposite the town of Franklinton."

Mr. Bureau moved that the blank read: "The town of Delaware."

Mr. Bigger moved it be filled with "the farm of Peter and John Sells."

Mr. Caldwell moved "the town of Worthington."

Mr. Evans, representing Ross county, was in favor of "The High Bank in the Pickaway Plains."

Mr. Bureau was for "the land of Moses Bixby and Henry Baldwin."

Mr. Pritchard proposed "New Lancaster."

The question was first put on filling said blank with these words: "The High Bank on the east side of the Scioto river opposite the town of Franklinton." The vote was decided in the affirmative; — fifteen yeas and nine nays.

The said resolution was further amended and then read as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives,* That a committee of three members be appointed on the part of the Senate to prepare and bring in a bill, to fix and establish the permanent seat of government, at the High Bank of the east side of the Scioto River, opposite the town of Franklinton, agreeably to the proposition of Messrs. Starling, Kerr, M'Laughlin and Johnston; and that from and after the first day of May next, Lancaster shall be the temporary seat of government, until otherwise directed by law. By vote the Senate agreed to the resolution, yeas 17, nays 7.

This action was on February 5th. The resolution immediately went to the house of representatives, which on the same day, proceeded, in a committee of the whole, to consider the same. The senate resolution was agreed to with the exception that the house, on motion of Mr. Morris, by a vote of twenty-

five yeas to twenty nays substituted "Chillicothe" in the place of "Lancaster" as the temporary seat of government.

The resolution thus amended was returned next day (February 6th) to the Senate, which on motion to retain Lancaster stood tie, twelve yeas to twelve nays. On the following day another attempt was made to restore Lancaster, which was lost by a vote of ten yeas to thirteen nays, so "Chillicothe" stood undisturbed in the house bill. In pursuance of said resolution a committee was accordingly appointed, of Senators David Purviance, J. P. R. Bureau and John Bigger, to act in conference with a similar committee to be appointed by the house. On the 8th, the house by resolution appointed as its committee to act jointly with the senate, Messrs. David Morris, Samuel Huntington and William Sterrett. On the same day an attempt by the House to substitute the Delaware site for the Scioto High Bank was lost by vote of twenty yeas to twenty-five nays.

February 8th. Mr. Purviance, from the Senate committee, reported a bill, the matter having now passed the resolution stage, and taken the formal status of an enactment, "Fixing and establishing the permanent and temporary seat of government", which bill was received, read the first time and ordered to pass on to the second reading.

February 10th. The senate in committee of the whole took up the bill for further consideration, receiving further changes in the proposals of Messrs. Starling, Kerr, McLaughlin and Johnston.

February 12th. The bill was reported out of the committee of the whole to the senate for action. The bill as it now stood was for the East Bank of the Scioto opposite Franklinton for the permanent capital and Chillicothe for the temporary capital. It was the final struggle for the friends of the bill and the allies, representing other sites, in opposition. An attempt to substitute Delaware for the "East High Bank on Scioto" was defeated by ten yeas to fourteen nays. The day was mainly consumed by the filibustering field; riders, substitutes, strike outs, insertions, amendments and postponements — indeed all the arts of parliamentary tactics and obstructions were futile, and after the third reading the bill passed by the vote of thirteen yeas (including

the speaker) to eleven nays. It was not a wide margin, but it was enough.

The bill was messaged to the house the same day, and though not mentioned in that day's journal, as in the original publication of the proceedings, it must have been read for the first time, as on the following day the house went into a committee of the whole, read for the second time and debated the bill. Efforts were made to insert Franklinton for Chillicothe as the temporary seat of government; but without avail. The foes to the site proposed and thus far selected, rallied in full force and the sparring was vigorous and skilful. It was another field day, as the House Journal amply testifies, and the adherents of the bill would neither yield nor compromise and on the question, "Shall the bill pass?" which stood as it came from the senate without alteration, the roll was called and stood yeas twenty-seven (including Speaker Corwin) — nays nineteen. And so the bill passed, and on February 14th, the "East High Bank, opposite the town of Franklinton," became the legislative Valentine to the state of Ohio. The bill as it became a law was as follows:

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the state of Ohio,*

That the proposals made to this legislature by Alexander McLaughlin, John Kerr, Lyne Starling and James Johnston, (to lay out a town on their lands, situate on the east bank of the Scioto river, opposite Franklinton, in the county of Franklin, and parts of half sections number nine, ten, eleven, twenty-five and twenty-six, for the purpose of having the permanent seat of government thereon established; also, to convey to this state a square of ten acres and a lot of ten acres, and to erect a state house, such offices, and a penitentiary, as shall be directed by the legislature,) are hereby accepted, and the same and their penal bond annexed thereto, dated the tenth of February, one thousand eight hundred and twelve, conditioned for their faithful performances of said proposals, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, and shall remain in the office of the treasurer of state, there to be kept for the use of this state.

SECT. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That the seat of government of this state be, and the same is hereby fixed and permanently established on the land aforesaid, and the legislature shall commence their sessions thereat on the first Monday of December, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, and there continue until the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty, and from thence until otherwise provided by law.

SECT. 3. *Be it further enacted,* That there shall be appointed by

a joint resolution of this general assembly, a director, who shall, within thirty days after his appointment, take and subscribe an oath faithfully and impartially to discharge the duties enjoined on him by law, and shall hold his office to the end of the session of the next legislature: *Provided*, That in case the office of the director aforesaid shall by death, resignation, or in any other wise become vacant during the recess of the legislature, the governor shall fill such vacancy.

SECT. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That the aforesaid director shall view and examine the lands above mentioned and superintend the surveying and laying out of the town aforesaid and direct the width of streets and alleys therein; also, to select the square for public buildings and the lot for the penitentiary and dependencies according to the proposals aforesaid; and he shall make a report thereof to the next legislature; he shall moreover perform such other duties as will be required of him by law.

SECT. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That said McLaughlin, Keir, Starling, and Johnston, shall, on or before the first day of July next ensuing, at their own expense, cause the town aforesaid to be laid out, and a plat of the same recorded in the recorder's office of Franklin county, distinguishing therein the square and lot to be by them conveyed to this state; and they shall moreover transmit a certified copy thereof to the next legislature for their inspection.

SECT. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That from and after the first day of May next, Chillicothe shall be the temporary seat of government until otherwise provided by law.

MATTHIAS CORWIN,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

THOS. KIRKER,

*Speaker of the Senate.*

February 14, 1812.

(Laws of Ohio, Vol. 10 (1812) p. 92.)

(Passed in the first session of the Tenth general assembly.)

In the Senate on February 20, (1812), the Journal states:

Mr. Evans submitted to the consideration of the Senate the following resolution:

*Resolved* by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that the seat of government, in this state, shall be known and distinguished by the name of \* \* \*.

The same was ordered to lie for consideration.

This resolution was at once sent to the House, which on the same day gave it consideration. The name "Ohio City" was



proposed, but on vote was defeated by yeas nineteen, nays twenty-two, and the subject was left for future action.

February 21st. The senate took up the resolution, giving name to the permanent seat of government, which was offered the day before by Mr. Evans. The said resolution was amended and agreed to as follows:

*Resolved* by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that the town to be laid out at the High Bank, on the east side of the Scioto river, opposite the town of Franklinton, for the permanent seat of government of this state, shall be known and distinguished by the name of Columbus.

This name was proposed by Mr. Joseph Foos, Senator from Franklin county, the same Senator who had so valiantly championed the Scioto High Bank site. On the passage of this resolution by the senate, naming the site, it was sent to the house with a request for its concurrence. The house on motion that it do agree to the resolution, concurred by a vote of 24 yeas to 10 nays. And so the seat of government of the state of Ohio found its local habitation and its name.

The General Assembly, (February 20) by Joint Resolution appointed Joel Wright, of Warren county, as director, to "view and examine" the lands proffered and lay out and survey "the town aforesaid." Joseph Vance, of Franklin county, was selected to assist him.

The refugee lands, upon which our state capital was located, comprised a narrow tract four miles and a half wide, from north to south, and extending forty-eight miles eastwardly from the Scioto river. It took its name from the fact that it was appropriated by Congress for the benefit of persons from Canada and Nova Scotia, who in our Revolutionary War, espoused the cause of the revolted colonies. The lands in this tract were originally surveyed in 1799, under the authority of the general government, and divided, as other public lands, into sections of six hundred and forty acres each. But in 1801 they were divided into half-sections, and numbered as such. Patents were issued for half-sections, designating them by their numbers.

On the recorded plat of the town, the streets and alleys crossed each other at right angles, bearing twelve degrees west

of north, and twelve degrees north of east. High street, running north and south, was one hundred feet wide; and Broad, an east and west street, was one hundred and twenty feet in width. The other streets were eighty-two and a half feet wide, and the alleys generally thirty-three feet. The inlots were sixty-two and a half feet front, and one hundred and eighty-seven and a half feet deep. The outlots east of the town plat, each contained about three acres.

On the 18th of June, 1812, the same day on which the United States declared war against Great Britain, the first public sale of lots took place. It had been extensively advertised. The terms of sale were extremely liberal. Only one-fifth of the purchase money was to be paid in hand; the residue in four equal annual installments, without interest, unless default was made in prompt payment. The lots sold were principally on High and Broad streets, and brought prices varying from two hundred to one thousand dollars each.

At the time of the public sale of lots, the prospects of the site of the proposed capital were by no means enticing. The streets and alleys marked on the plat had to be traced through a dense forest. In site and immediate surroundings presented but few evidences of the former presence of civilized man. The only cleared land then on or contiguous to the town plat was a small spot on Front, a little south of State street; another small field and a cabin on the bank of the river at the western terminus of Rich Street; and a cabin and garden spot in front of where the penitentiary now stands.

But as it was decreed that this was to become the capital city of the state, immigrants sought homes within its borders from all sections of the country. Improvements and general business went forward with the increase of population.

In pursuance of their contract with the state, the proprietors of Columbus set to work with characteristic energy, and in 1813 excavated the ground on the southwest corner of the public square for the foundation of the state house. The building was erected the following year. It was a plain brick structure, seventy-five by fifty feet, and two stories high. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the brick used in the construc-

tion of this state house were made from the earth appropriated from and by the demolition of a beautiful prehistoric mound that once stood at the corner of High and Mound streets, and from which mound, during its destruction, many human bones of a past race were taken. This incident furnished the subject of a poem by one of the settlers of Columbus, shortly after the construction of its first buildings.

"Oh Town! consecrated before  
The white man's foot e'er trod our shore,  
To battle's strife and valour's grave,  
Spare! oh spare the buried brave.

"A thousand winters passed away,  
And yet demolished not the clay,  
Which on yon hillock held in trust  
The quiet of the warrior's dust.

"The Indian came and went again;  
He hunted through the lengthened plain;  
And from the *Mound* he oft beheld  
The present silent battle field.

"But did the Indian e'er presume,  
To violate that ancient tomb?  
Ah, no! he had the soldier grace  
Which spares the soldier's resting place.

"It is alone for Christian hand  
To sever that sepulchral band,  
Which ever to the view is spread,  
To bind the living to the dead."

While we are in a poetical mood, it is worthy of note that the original brick state house, the erection of which has just been recorded, had a stone above its main entrance, upon which was inscribed the following lines from Barlow's *Columbiad*:

"The equality of right is nature's plan,  
And following nature is the march of man;  
Based on its rock of right your empire lies,  
On walls of wisdom let the fabric rise.  
Preserve your principles, their force unfold,  
Let nations prove them, and let kings behold,  
Equality your first firm grounded stand,

Then free elections, then your union band;  
This holy triad should forever shine,  
The great compendium of all rights divine.  
Creed of all schools, whence youths by millions draw,  
Their theme of right, their decalogue of law,  
Till man shall wonder (in these schools inured)  
How wars were made, how tyrants were endured."

Following the erection of the state house, there was built in 1815, a two-story brick building, one hundred and fifty feet in length, by twenty-five in width, fronting on High street, fifty or sixty feet north of the state house, for the purposes of state offices.

The public square on which these buildings stood, was, in 1815 or 1816, cleared of the native timber and underbrush by Jarvis Pike, generally known as Judge Pike, who enclosed the lot with a rough rail fence, and farmed the ground three or four years, raising upon it wheat, corn, etc. The fence having got out of order, and not being repaired, was at length destroyed, and the square lay in common for a dozen or more years.

On the 10th of February, 1816, the town was incorporated as the "borough of Columbus" and on the 1st Monday in May, following, Robert W. McCoy, John Cutler, Robert Armstrong, Henry Brown, Caleb Houston, Michael Patton, Jeremiah Armstrong, Jarvis Pike (who was the first Mayor) and John Kerr were elected the first board of councilmen.

Another local poet at that time, inspired by the incident of the incorporation, perpetrated the following doggerel verse, concerning the incorporators and their occupations.

I sell buckram and tape, . . . . .	McCoy.
I sell crocks and leather, . . . . .	Cutler.
I am the gentleman's ape, . . . . .	J. Armstrong.
I am all that together, . . . . .	Brown.
I build houses and barns, . . . . .	Houston.
I do the public carving . . . . .	Patton.
I sell cakes and beer, . . . . .	J. Armstrong
I am almost starving, . . . . .	Pike.
I sell lots and the like, }	
And dabble in speculation, }	Kerr.
We and his Majesty Pike	
Make a splendid corporation.	



In the fall of 1816 the state offices were removed from Chillicothe to Columbus, and on the first Monday of December, of the same year, the legislature began its first session in the then new state house in Columbus. The proprietors having finished the public buildings and deeded the two ten acre lots to the state, agreeably to their proposals, at this session they presented their account for the erection of the public buildings: and by an act passed January 29, 1817, the Governor was authorized to settle and adjust the account, and the Auditor required to draw on the treasurer for the balance found due after deducting the \$50,000 which the proprietors were by their proposal bound to give.

In the settlement, after deducting from the charge for carpenter work some six or seven per cent., and the \$50,000, there was found a balance due the proprietors of about \$33,000, which was paid by the state, and thus was closed the political and financial enterprise of fixing the permanent capital for the state of Ohio.

Concerning this matter of the location of the capital, *The Supporter*—a Chillicothe weekly of the date Saturday morning, February 29, 1812—in its leading editorial spoke as follows:

"The law fixing the permanent seat of government will be seen in this week's paper—a town to be laid out on the east bank of the Scioto river, opposite Franklinton, and is, we understand, to be named Columbus. We believe a more eligible site for a town is not to be found and it must afford considerable gratification that this long contested subject has at last been settled. The legislature has appointed Joel Wright, of Warren county, director."

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#### THE CENTENNIAL CHURCHES OF THE MIAMI VALLEY.

J. E. BRADFORD, MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD.

The aim of this study is to trace the course and note some of the main features of ecclesiastical development in the Miami Valley to the close of the year 1815. By the Miami Valley we mean the whole area drained by the two Miamis including the Whitewater which is one of its tributaries entering the Great Miami near its mouth. Let it be borne in mind that what is here offered is but a hasty preliminary survey of a very inter-

esting field which would well justify a much more careful investigation.

One hundred years ago the Miami country had a population of about ninety thousand. Dr. Drake<sup>1</sup> gives us a good survey of it in that year of which the following is a summary: Cincinnati had about one thousand houses, a stone courthouse with dome, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Friends' meeting-houses, two banks, two newspapers, a library, a two-story building in process of erection for the accommodation of the newly founded Lancasterian Seminary, and a number of manufacturing establishments, including one stone mill.

Hamilton had seventy houses, chiefly log, a postoffice and printing office, but no public buildings save a stone jail. Lebanon was a considerable village with houses of brick and wood, a courthouse and a schoolhouse, Baptist and Methodist churches, a stone jail, a printing office, a library, a bank, and several manufactories.

Franklin had forty-five families, grist and saw mills and a postoffice. Dayton had one hundred dwellings, principally wood, a courthouse, a Methodist meeting-house, a brick academy, a library of two hundred and fifty books, a bank, a postoffice, and a printing office.

Xenia was a group of wooden houses with a courthouse, one church, a postoffice, and printing office. Urbana, having been the base of the recent military operations, had developed into a town of about one hundred houses, with a newspaper and bank, but without any public buildings. West of the Miami River was Greenville, a military post, and Eaton, with thirty dwellings and a postoffice, but with no public buildings. Oxford he describes as a sparsely populated village located on the frontier of the state, that had gained notoriety from having been fixed on as the seat of a university.

It was a full quarter century before Dr. Drake penned his description of the Miami country that the first churches were planted to the northward of the Ohio. But little more than a year after the coming of the first settlers into the Miami country steps were taken to effect a religious organization. The initiative was taken by the Baptists who, at Columbia, on Jan.

20, 1796, organized the first Protestant church in the Northwest Territory. The officiating clergyman was Rev. Stephen Gano, and the number of charter members was nine, though this was shortly added to. The following May, Elder John Smith, later a member of the Constitutional Convention, and United States senator from Ohio, took charge of the congregation. This church grew rapidly, but after Wayne's Treaty in 1795 many of its members moved into the interior, and, in 1797, we have the founding of Miami Island, Carpenter's Run and Clear Creek churches.<sup>2</sup>

In December of the same year, as the founding of the Columbia church, a Presbyterian congregation was organized at Cincinnati by the Rev. David Rice<sup>3</sup> of Danville, Kentucky. A few months after James Kemper, a licentiate, was sent to supply this congregation, and to establish preaching stations at Columbia, North Bend and Round Bottom. He arrived at his field of labor a few days before St. Clair's defeat, and proved a tower of strength to the disheartened settlement in those troublous days.

If the Baptists have the honor of organizing the first congregation, to the Presbyterians belong the credit of erecting the first house of worship in the Miami country, and this by the Cincinnati church. In January, 1792, subscriptions were made by one hundred and sixteen persons, totaling \$289 plus £3. 6d. English money, one hundred and seventy days work, seventy-one days' work with team; twenty-three pounds of nails, four hundred and fifty feet of boards, and sixty-five boat planks. The church erected at this time is described as a good frame house thirty by forty feet, but "neither lathed, plastered, nor ceiled". The floor was of boat plank laid loosely upon the joists. The seats were of the same material supported by blocks of wood. There was a breastwork of unplanned cherry boards called a pulpit, behind which the clergyman stood on a piece of boat plank resting on a block of wood. This church somewhat improved a few years later served the congregation until 1812 when a more commodious edifice was erected.<sup>4</sup>

Though there may have been some prior sporadic preaching, it was not until 1798 that a definite effort was made to establish Methodism in the Miami Valley. In that year Rev. John Kobler,

acting under appointment of Bishop Asbury, crossed the Ohio at Columbia and made his way to the cabin of Francis McCormick near Milford. Here he organized a class of twenty-one members. A few days later, accompanied by McCormick, he set out on a tour of the settlements between the Miamis, visiting among other points Dayton, Franklin, Hamilton, and Cincinnati. The few score of Methodists whom he found he organized into eight or ten classes which he sought to visit every two weeks. After such a ministry of several months, he retired from the circuit reporting ninety-nine members.

It was not, however, until five years after the close of his ministry in the Miami Valley that Methodism gained a foothold in Cincinnati, as on his visit to the place in 1798 he could find no one interested in his ministry, and so did not include it in his list of appointments. It was in 1804 that John Collins, a local preacher residing in Clermont County, while on a business trip to Cincinnati learned of the presence there of a number of Methodists. These he at once gathered together, and after preaching to them organized them into a class, and a little later secured their inclusion in the appointments of the Miami Circuit. There was, however, no regular place of preaching until about 1807, when a stone meeting-house was erected. By 1812 this church had so grown that it had two hundred and nine names upon the roll of its members.<sup>5</sup>

So far as has been ascertained, the following list comprises the churches founded prior to 1816 that have persisted to the present time.



CHURCHES FOUNDED PRIOR TO 1816.<sup>6</sup>

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Congregation.</i>	<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Township.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Founder.</i>
1790	Columbia .....	Baptist .....	.....	Hamilton ....	Stephen Gano.
1790	Cincinnati .....	Presbyterian .....	.....	Hamilton ....	David Rice.
1795	Springdale .....	Presbyterian .....	Springfield .....	Hamilton ....	James Kemper.
1796	Pleasant Ridge.....	Presbyterian .....	.....	Hamilton ....	James Kemper.
1797	Clear Creek.....	Baptist .....	Turtle Creek.....	Hamilton ....	
1797	Miami Island.....	Baptist .....	.....	Hamilton ....	
1797	Carpenter's Run.....	Baptist .....	.....	Hamilton ....	
1798	Dayton .....	Methodist .....	.....	Montgomery .	Rev. John Kobler.
1798	Salem .....	Methodist .....	.....	Clermont ....	
1798	Sycamore .....	United Pres.....	20 m. Stand.....	Warren .....	Rev. Robt. Warwick.
1798	Turtle Creek.....	Baptist .....	Turtle Creek .....	Warren .....	
1799	Middle Run.....	Baptist .....	Sugar Creek .....	Greene .....	
1799	Beulah .....	Presbyterian .....	Van Buren .....	Montgomery .	
1799	1st Dayton.....	Presbyterian .....	.....	Montgomery .	
1799	Bethel .....	Baptist .....	.....	Clermont ....	
1800	Fairfield .....	Baptist .....	.....	.....	
1800	Trenton .....	Baptist .....	Madison .....	Butler .....	
1800	Clear Creek .....	United Pres.....	Clear Creek .....	Warren .....	
1802	Hamilton .....	Presbyterian .....	.....	Hamilton ....	
1802	Monroe .....	United Pres.....	Lemon .....	Butler .....	
1802	Amelia .....	Baptist .....	.....	Clermont ....	
1803	Caesar's Creek.....	Baptist .....	Silver Creek .....	Greene .....	Stephen Scott.

1803	St. John's.....	Evan, Luth.	Miami	Montgomery
1803	St. John's.....	Ger. Ref.	Miami	Montgomery
1803	Waynesville	Friends	Wayne	Warren
1804	Cedarville	Methodist		Greene
1804	Massie's Creek	United Pres.	Cedarville	Greene
1804	Duck Creek	Methodist	Columbia	Hamilton
1804	Muddy Creek	Baptist	Deerfield	Warren
1804	Old Bethel	Methodist		Clermont
1804	Sugar Creek	United Pres.	Sugar Creek	Greene
1804	Clover Chapel		Williamsburg	Clermont
1805	Hamilton	Presbyterian	Hamilton	Butler
1805	Lebanon	Methodist	Turtle Creek	Warren
1805	Middleburg	Friends	Harrison	Warren
1805	Paddy's Run	Cong'l	Morgan	Butler
1805		Baptist		Union, Ind.
1805	Springboro	Ger. Ref.	Clear Creek	Warren
1805	Shaker Village	Shaker	Turtle Creek	Warren
1806	Springfield	Methodist		Clark
1807	Boston	Friends	Boston	Wayne, Ind.
1807	Elkhorn Church	Baptist	Boston	Wayne, Ind.
1807	Eaton	Christian		Preble
1807	Goshen	Friends	Jefferson	Logan
1807	Richmond	Friends	Wayne	Wayne, Ind.
1807	Jackson	Friends	Jackson	Preble
1807	Troy	Baptist		Miami
1807	Jefferson	Friends	Jefferson	Preble
1807	West Milton	Friends		Miami
1808	Hopewell	United Pres.	Israel	Miami

John Collins.

## CHURCHES FOUNDED PRIOR TO 1816 — Continued.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Congregation.</i>	<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Township.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Founder.</i>
1808	Boston	Methodist	Boston	Wayne, Ind.	Hugh Cull.
1808	Spring Valley	Friends	Spring Valley	Greene	
1808	Unity	Presbyterian	Deerfield	Warren	
1808	Williamsburg	Presbyterian		Clermont	Rev. — Hoge.
1809	Cedarville	Ref. Pres.	2 m. from Cedarville	Greene	
1809	Beaver Creek	Ger. Ref.	Beaver Creek	Greene	
1809	German town	Ger. Ref.	German	Montgomery	
1809	German town	Lutheran	German	Montgomery	
1809	Winchester	Methodist		Preble	
1810	Beechwood	Ref. Pres.	Israel	Preble	
1810	Springfield	Christian		Clark	
1810	Caesar's Creek	Friends	Chester	Clinton	
1810	Collinsville	Presbyterian	Milford	Butler	
1810	Indian Creek	Baptist	3 m. above Reily	Butler	
1810	Rossburg	Methodist	Harlan	Warren	
1810	Bethel	Baptist	Turtle Creek	Warren	
1811	Poastown	U. Brethren	Madison	Butler	Jacob Kemp.
1811	Harrison	Presbyterian	Harrison	Hamilton	Samuel Baldridge.
1811	Todd's Fork	Baptist	Washington	Butler	
1811	McKendree Chapel	Methodist	Elizabeth	Miami	
1811	Bethel	Baptist	Greene	Hamilton	
1811	Lisbon	Baptist	Harmony	Clark	

1812	Clifton	Presbyterian	Miami	Greene	Peter Montfort.
1812	New Carlisle	Methodist	Bethel	Clark	
1812	Jamestown	Friends	Silver Creek	Greene	
1812	Harveysburg		Adams	Clinton	
1812	Middleburg	Methodist	Harrison	Preble	
1812	Little Cedar	Baptist		Union	
1812	Moorfield	Methodist	Moorfield	Clark	
1813	New Jersey	Presbyterian	Carlisle	Warren	
1813	Xenia 2d	United Pres.		Greene	Alex Denneester.
1813	Cincinnati	Baptist		Hamilton	
1813	Zane	Methodist		Logan	Hezekiah Smith.
1813	Newtown	Methodist		Clermont	
1814	Wilmington	Methodist		Clinton	
1814	Bethel	Presbyterian	Hamilton	Warren	
	Fletcher Chapel	Methodist	Harmony	Clark	
1814	Liberty	Presbyterian		Union, Ind.	
1814	Cincinnati	Friends		Hamilton	
1814	Cincinnati	Lutheran		Hamilton	
1814	Bethel	Baptist		Fayette, Ind.	
1814	Little Creek	Baptist		Warren	
1815	Red Lion	Christian	Clear Creek	Champaign	
1815	Mt. Tabor			Montgomery	
1815	Ellerton	Lutheran	Jefferson	Butler	
1815	Hamilton	United Pres.		Butler	
1815	Sycamore	United Pres.	Hamilton	Greene	
1815	Waynesville	Methodist	Wayne	Greene	
1815	Bethel	Presbyterian	Hanover	Butler	Rev. — Hayden.
1815	Samuels	Lutheran	Hanover	Butler	



## CHURCHES FOUNDED PRIOR TO 1816—Concluded.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Congregation.</i>	<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Township.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Founder.</i>
1815	West Grove .....	Friends .....	Center .....	Wayne, Ind. .	
1815	Washington .....	Friends .....	Clay .....	Wayne, Ind. .	
1815	Washington .....	Methodist .....	Clay .....	Wayne, Ind. .	
1815	Jacksonburg .....	Christian .....	Harrison .....	Wayne, Ind. .	
1815	New Garden .....	Friends .....	Harrison .....	Wayne, Ind. .	
1815	New Garden .....	Methodist .....	Harrison .....	Wayne, Ind. .	
1815	Centerville .....	Friends .....	Center .....	Wayne .....	

Of the churches listed above twenty-seven are of the Presbyterian group, twenty-three are Baptist, twenty-two are Methodist, sixteen are designated as Friends, five are Lutheran, four are Reformed, two are Christian, one is United Brethren, one is Congregational, one is known as Shaker. The affiliation of two is undetermined. It is noteworthy that no Catholic or Episcopal church or Jewish synagogue is included in the list.

Judging by the churches founded, it appears that until 1795 the religious frontier adhered closely to the Ohio river. By 1797 it had reached the banks of Mad river beyond which it does not appear to have advanced until a decade later. In 1805 it extended to the westward of the Great Miami and a little later crossed the boundary line into Indiana.

An examination of this list shows that comparatively few churches were founded between 1790 and 1800. This evidences lack of interest for the religious welfare of the rapidly growing community, and reflects the general indifference of the West to matters religious at the close of the 18th century. The great mass of the people were out of sympathy with the church. But with the dawn of the new century a change occurred, as is shown from the churches founded after 1802.

#### THE NEW LIGHT REVIVAL.<sup>7</sup>

During the years 1801-1805 the Miami Valley was affected by certain remarkable religious phenomena that were far-reaching in their results. These were first manifest in the Cumberland settlements some time previous to this. Due to denominational dissensions, the influence of French infidel philosophy, and the prevalence of wrong doing, interest in religion at the close of the eighteenth century was at a very low ebb. Moved by the low state of religion, the Rev. James McCrady, a Presbyterian clergyman, of southwest Kentucky, prevailed upon certain earnest Christian spirits to join him in a covenant to observe the third Sabbath of each month as a day of fasting and prayer, and to spend one-half hour each Saturday evening and the same time each Sabbath morning in praying to God for a revival of His work in their midst.

The results were first noted at a sacramental service held

in 1798 which was pervaded by such earnestness that little work was done the following week, the time being given over to prayer and other religious exercises. At a sacramental service held the following year, while a Rev. Mr. Hodge was preaching a woman gave vent to her emotions with a scream. This was followed by other meetings frequently held in the open air in which much interest was shown. Soon Bishop McKendree of the Methodist church arrived on the scene and threw himself into the work. Various meetings were held which attracted persons from far and near, some of whom came prepared to camp out during the meetings. Thus originated the camp meetings which became a characteristic feature of the religious life of the West, and prepared the way for the modern Chautauqua.

Hundreds were affected in various ways. Some swooned away and would lie for hours apparently without breathing. Others would roll over and over like a log, or sometimes like a wheel. Still others would have violent twitching of the muscles. If those of the neck were affected the head would jerk from side to side, or backwards and forwards, so as to threaten the dislocation of the neck. Some would move about on hands and feet barking like dogs. At the Cane Ridge meeting where the attendance was estimated at twenty thousand, it is said that as many as three thousand fell, jerking, rolling, dancing and laughing. No class was exempt from the affection, nor was it confined to religious gatherings. Usually the ones so affected were brought under strong convictions of sin, but not always.

By 1801 these phenomena began to be manifest in the Miami Valley as also in western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina. By some they were regarded as operations of the Divine Spirit intended to humble the pride of the human heart and bring conviction of sin. Such taught that "the will of God was made manifest to each individual who sought after it by an inward light which shone into the heart". Hence these persons came to be known as New Lights.

The effects of this movement on the Miami Valley were threefold:

1. The almost complete extinction of all Presbyterian churches north of Hamilton County.

2. The development of the New Light movement under the leadership of Rev. Barton K. Stone.
3. The establishment of three Shaker communities within the Miami Valley.

In 1802, there came into the Miami Valley a Presbyterian clergyman—the Rev. Richard McNemar who had but lately resigned his charge at Cabin Creek, Kentucky, because of opposition to his participation in the revival movement in that region. Though tall and gaunt he had a commanding presence, an expressive countenance, and was a good scholar, reading with ease Latin, Greek and Hebrew. His manner was animated and fervent. His services as pastor being desired by Turtle Creek Presbyterian church, a call was presented to Presbytery at a meeting at Springfield (now Glendale), in April, 1803. This called forth a proposal to examine McNemar and John Thompson, the pastor of the Springfield church, “on the fundamental doctrines of religion”. This proposal was sustained by Rev. James Kemper of Cincinnati, and Matthew Wallace then located in Hamilton. But as the brethren thus brought under suspicion were joined by Rev. John Dunlevy the motion did not prevail. On the matter being brought before the Synod of Kentucky these were joined by the Rev. Robert Marshall and Barton K. Stone in entering a protest disclaiming the jurisdiction of Synod. These protestants formed the “Dissenting Presbytery of Springfield” which was later joined by David Purviance. This body, however, was of brief duration. On June 28, 1804, at a meeting held at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, it drafted a Last Will and Testament, dispensing with the title of “Reverend”, disrobing itself of all governmental authority, and of its power to license and ordain ministers, instituting congregational form of government and declaring itself dissolved. Meanwhile these brethren were incessant in their religious ministrations. The churches frequently proved inadequate to accommodate those who waited upon their ministry, and services had to be held out of doors. Numerous largely attended camp meetings were held. The strange phenomena to which reference has already been made were frequently manifest. It is recorded that at a communion held at Turtle Creek in the spring of 1804, even Thompson—more conserva-



tive than some others — after administering the elements began to dance around the communion table repeating in a low voice: "This is the Holy Ghost. Glory." This exercise in which others joined him continued for more than an hour.

#### THE SHAKER MOVEMENT.<sup>8</sup>

While interest was at this height, there arrived at the home of one of the members of the Turtle Creek congregation three representatives of the Shaker community at Lebanon, New York, who had been attracted by the reports that reached them of the strange happenings in the Ohio Valley. The next day these men were introduced to McNemar to whom they explained their mission. He was deeply impressed with their words and consented to their preaching to his people. To them they unfolded their doctrine of the Duality of God, spirit communications, religious asceticism, and community of life and property. The message found a response in the hearts of the hearers. McNemar and the greater part of his congregation espoused the principles of Shakerism, renounced the family relation and transferred their property to the community which they founded. On a beautiful elevation near the old church they erected their community buildings some of which are more than a hundred years old. Here, in 1819, they erected their chapel which is a fine example of pioneer architecture, and is perhaps the oldest building devoted to religious services now standing in the Miami Valley. Here the Shakers led their life, introducing new methods of agriculture, developing new breeds of stock, providing garden seeds and remedial agents to the general public, and engaging in certain forms of manufacturing. For many years the community flourished until it numbered several hundred people. North and South villages were erected on the Turtle Creek property, while additional communities were established on Whitewater and near Dayton. In time, however, the community declined, and as numbers decreased they centralized at Union Village. Finally in 1912, recognizing that they must soon become extinct, they disposed of their buildings and farm lands amounting to about six thousand acres to the United Brethren Church, reserving a life interest in one of the buildings and its grounds. Here, en-

joying the comforts of life, the remnant of this interesting community calmly await ultimate extinction.

Dunlevy followed McNemar into Shakerism, but his other associates failed to accompany him in this course. Thompson soon returned to the Presbyterian fold and resumed the pastorate of the Springfield (Glendale) church. Stone and Purviance held to their profession, and aided in laying the foundation of the Christian church with which they ultimately merged. Stone, in his biography, narrates an experience of himself and a minister named Dooley while on one of their preaching tours. "We preached and baptized daily in Eaton for many days. No house could contain the people that flocked to hear. We left the place and preached and baptized as many others. We were poorly clad and had no money to buy clothes. Going on to a certain place through the barrens, a limb tore Brother Dooley's striped pantaloons very much. He had no others and I had none to lend him. He tied his handkerchief over the seat and went on and preached to the people."

#### SUGAR CREEK UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.<sup>9</sup>

The years that saw the foregoing religious development were marked by the founding of several congregations that are worthy of special mention. In 1804, the members of the Kentucky congregation ministered to by the Rev. Robert Armstrong, being dissatisfied with slavery, and having sent a committee to examine the country and to select a suitable location, removed in a body to the Miami country. These settled — part of them on Massie's Creek, an eastern tributary of the Little Miami, and part on Sugar Creek, a western branch of the same stream. Two churches were built — one on either stream. The Massie's Creek church in time was absorbed by congregations of a kindred faith organized at Xenia, Cedarville and Jamestown. The other, though its church stands at a cross road in the open country, has grown stronger with the years. Originally it was composed exclusively of Scotch Irish. It chanced that in removing the site of the church to a point more central and accessible, land therefor was secured from a member of the German Reformed church. Soon this man with his family and a number of his relatives

asked to be received into membership, and after some deliberation they were accepted. They were soon followed by some Lutherans and later by some Methodists and others of Baptist and Quaker stock. Today this church is thoroughly Americanized, is well organized and highly efficient. Last year it gave its pastor one thousand dollars salary and a parsonage, and presented him an auto that he might more effectively do his work, while its contributions to benevolence amounted to one thousand and ninety dollars. It has given nine of its sons to the ministry. One of these is a distinguished college president and another a university professor, while one of its daughters has for more than half a century labored in the Egyptian mission field. Two sons that studied medicine achieved such distinction that they were chosen to chairs in medical colleges of recognized standing, while another son is a leading layman of the denomination.

#### THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF WHITEWATER.<sup>10</sup>

As early as 1802 Mr. J. W. Brown of Cincinnati preached at various points in the region of Paddy's Run, Butler County. The Christians of the community were from England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and New England; they were of various denominations, but in order to properly maintain the ordinances of the church decided to drop personal predilections and organize on the broad basis of Christian love. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and rules of discipline. The report of the committee was, after due deliberation, adopted, and the church formally organized on September 3, 1803, at the home of John Templeton, and given the name of "The Congregational Church of Whitewater" but is commonly known as the "Paddy's Run Church." The first members were Benjamin McCarty, Asa Mitchell, Joab Comstock, Andrew Scott, Margaret Bebb, Ezekiel Hughes, Wm. and Ann Gwilyne, David and Mary Francis. In 1804 a committee of their own members set apart the aforementioned John W. Brown to the office and work of the ministry. The relation thus established continued until 1811 when Mr. Brown was sent on a mission to the eastern states by Miami University. The church received large accessions to its membership among whom were many Welsh. These soon became

numerous and in 1817 a minister was secured, Rev. Rees Lloyd, who could hold services in both English and Welsh, which custom was continued for many years.

The members of this congregation early evinced an interest in education, and in 1807 erected a schoolhouse and started a subscription school. In 1821 the co-pastor, Rev. Thomas Thomas of the congregation, opened a high school with a boarding department. This school soon acquired considerable distinction. In 1821 a Union Library Association was formed and chartered which is still flourishing. In 1823-25 a brick meeting-house 43 x 30 was erected. In 1856 a new church was erected and the old one given over to community purpose. This congregation continues to flourish, and during the present year has at very considerable expense remodeled its building in order to better adapt it to its present needs.

It is but natural that a congregation with such a spirit should send forth a due complement of its sons and daughters to achieve distinction in the world's work. Among them have been Gov. William Bebb, Murat Halstead, Dr. Griffen Shaw, Alfred Thomas, legal advisor in the United States Treasury Department, Rev. Thomas E. Thomas, at one time a professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Rev. Mart Williams of the China mission, Prof. S. W. Williams of Miami University and many others.

#### HOPEWELL UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.<sup>11</sup>

When, in 1801, the lands west of the Miami River had been open to settlement, a number of Scotch Irish Presbyterians of the South located in the southwest part of Preble County. In 1808 Rev. David Risk of the Associate Reformed Church organized these into a congregation which took the name of Hopewell.

After the cessation of hostilities in the West in 1813, a general exodus from the South, due to the opposition to slavery, set in toward this region. This movement climaxed with the coming in 1815 of a number of families from Georgia, led by their pastor, Rev. Alexander Porter, a graduate of Dickenson College. This congregation so increased that the old log church thirty by thirty which had been built prior to 1814 was enlarged by a thirty foot addition. This building gave place in 1823 to



the present commodious brick edifice. By 1835 this building was so overcrowded that rather than enlarge it a new church was built in the northern part of the congregation, and the members living in that section were set off and organized into the Fairhaven congregation. In 1837 those members living in and near Oxford were organized as the Oxford congregation, and in connection with the Synod erected a building that until 1856 was used both as a theological seminary and church. Upon the building of the railroad between Hamilton and Indianapolis, and the laying out of College Corner but three miles to the southwest of the parent church, another body of members swarmed to organize a church at that place. In 1875 almost half of the remaining members voted to unite with the Beechwood Reformed Presbyterian congregation and erect a new building at Morning Sun, midway between the two churches. This union was effected and a flourishing congregation is the result. The other members were loath to have the services discontinued, and so have maintained a pastor and regular services until the past year when it was decided to disband and distribute themselves among the other congregations.

The members of this congregation early showed an interest in education by establishing a school, and later founded an academy which has since evolved into a high school. This interest is shown in the fact that upward of forty of the sons of this community have entered the Christian ministry. Many of them have achieved high distinction, two becoming moderators of the General Assembly, and two professors in theological seminaries. Each of the congregations of the group has a well equipped church with parsonage, pays an average salary of one thousand dollars to its pastor, and contributes an equal amount to the missionary and benevolent agencies.

The community has long been noted for the loyalty, probity, as well as religious zeal of its members. During the Civil War this purely rural community sent more than two hundred and fifty of its men into the Union army, one of whom became captain and another a colonel. During the Civil War and after, the party vote of the community was almost unanimously republican.

WEST ELKTON FRIENDS CHURCH.<sup>12</sup>

As early as 1804, Nathan Stubbs of Georgia settled near the southern boundary of Preble County. He was shortly followed by others of like faith from Georgia, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1805 a meeting-house of round logs was erected. This gave place in 1809 to one of hewed logs, while this was replaced in 1827 by a brick meeting-house. This later gave place to the one now standing. At this time this congregation numbered about three hundred members and was but one of the numerous Quaker settlements made in the Miami Valley prior to 1815 the membership of which numbered upwards of five thousand. This congregation in common with other churches was sadly disturbed by the Hicksite controversy, and a Hicksite meeting-house was erected near by. For a time the congregation was in a state of decline. Some years ago, however, a paid pastor was secured, public services were conformed to the customary practice, a Bible school was organized, evangelistic preaching was introduced, and today the church is grasping the community problems in a very practical and forceful way and gives promise of long continued service. In this respect she was more fortunate than some of her sister churches which, due to dissension, have been forced to abandon their churches and discontinue their services.

THE GERMAN CHURCHES.<sup>13</sup>

Among the pioneers who came into the Miami Valley during the early years of the last century were many Germans from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the valley of Virginia. Judging by churches founded these settled almost wholly within the valley of the Great Miami, and for the most part within the upper half of the west slope of the valley. One important center was about Germantown, German township, Montgomery County. Here they organized a United Brethren church in 1806, and Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed congregations in 1809. These latter two, as they frequently did throughout the valley, united in erecting a house of worship which they used alternately. As the congregation grew in strength each built its own house of worship, and today both are flourishing congregations with

well appointed buildings. To the west of Germantown extending into the bounds of Preble County is a community of German Baptists or Dunkards. These began the holding of services as early as 1806 but it was not until 1845 that they erected a church. They have now divided into three sects which are distinguished as the Old Order, the Conservatives, and the Progressives.

Many of the German churches endeavored to continue the exclusive use of the German language in their church services. They found in time that they could not do this and retain their young people. Thus they were led to use the English in part or in whole in their services.

#### NEW JERSEY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.<sup>14</sup>

After 1800 a number of families settled in the vicinity of Franklin. On August 14, 1813, a number of them met at the home of William P. Barkalow and resolved to form themselves into a congregation, to apply to Presbytery for one-half of the ministerial services of Rev. Francis Montfort, and to raise him one hundred and fifty dollars in half yearly payments. The following year ruling elders were chosen and Mr. Montfort ordained as their pastor. In 1815 steps were taken to build a frame church. This was used until 1867 when it gave place to a handsome brick structure that cost \$16,365 and which is well adapted to religious services, Bible school work and the social work of the community. This congregation today numbers more than two hundred members who look well to the comfort and support of their pastor and are deeply interested in all missionary activities.

#### TAPSCOTT BAPTIST CHURCH.<sup>15</sup>

Within half a mile of this church stands the Tapscott Baptist church, founded in 1814 by people of the same general stock but with different religious ideals. A little later a brick meeting-house which still stands was erected and for a time the church prospered. But in 1835 dissension arose in the Baptist churches as to the propriety of undertaking missionary work, establishing Bible schools and joining in evangelistic effort. In 1836 a majority of this congregation decided in opposition to those agencies.

Those favoring withdrew and formed the Franklin Baptist church. Today the Tapscott church numbers a scant dozen members, holds an occasional service, and is without any vital hold on the community life. Of similar history is the Clear Creek Baptist founded in 1797, but which stands today practically unused and with woods growing about its doors.

#### CHURCH ARCHITECTURE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The most primitive type of pioneer church was that built of round logs. Such an one was that at Massie's Creek, Greene County, in 1808 which is thus described: "The building was thirty feet square and built of peeled hickory logs, and had neither loft nor floor save mother earth. There was but one door, and it was in the center of one end of the house. From the door there was an aisle which ran to the foundation of the pulpit in the center of the other end of the house. The pulpit was constructed of clapboards on a wooden foundation, and on each side of the pulpit was a window of twelve eight by ten lights. It was seated with two rows of puncheons from twelve to fifteen inches broad and twelve feet long, split out from poplar near by, and from four to six inches thick, hewed on the upper side and smoothed with a jack plane. In each end and center there were uprights some three feet long mortised in, and on these uprights two or three slats were pinned which formed quite a comfortable back." To worship in these rude houses men and women would travel as many as fifteen miles and sit without fire, even in the winter, and hear two sermons. With the growth of the congregation the church was sometimes enlarged by building thereto. This was done at Hopewell when, ere the first building was completed, it was found too small to accommodate the influx of population, so an addition of thirty feet was built to the original structure.<sup>16</sup>

With the development of society a hewed log meeting house would be erected. Immense logs would be selected and so carefully hewed that no mark of the ax was seen. For such a building at Massie's Creek the members contributed material and labor, while Parson Armstrong contributed a gallon of whisky for the raising, without which that function would have been



incomplete. Sometimes the building was made two stories with a gallery, as was the first church building in the Miami Valley erected at Columbia, or the "Old Dutch church" erected in 1823 which still stands a few miles west of Germantown and in which a pipe organ was installed in 1859. The pulpit was small and was built high up on the wall, and was reached by a number of steps and entered by a door. Such without the pulpit was the first Methodist meeting-house in the Miami Valley, erected in 1804, at "Old Hopewell, Clermont Co." It was a hewed log building two stories high and a very large building for its day.

Some congregations were more ambitious and erected frame structures. The New Jersey church at Carlisle modeled its first building after the Old Tenant church in New Jersey from whence they had come. For its construction Tanes D. Vanderveer furnished the frame work, George Lane the weather boarding, Hendrix Lane the floor, Michael Van Tuyle sawed the material, John McKean built the pulpit, while each man furnished his own bench.

The Associate Presbyterian (now Second United Presbyterian) church of Xenia determined to build somewhat more durably, and in 1814 a stone building fifty by thirty-five feet was erected. But the masterpiece of church architecture in the Miami Valley one hundred years ago was that erected by the Cincinnati Presbyterians in 1814 and known as the Two-horn church from its two towers. However, the churches of a hundred years ago were for the most part of the most primitive type, while many congregations were worshipping from place to place in the cabins of its members.

#### EARLY PREACHERS.

It would be interesting to study the lives of the men who pioneered in the religious development of the Miami Valley. We can, however, but note, and that briefly, a few of these.

Stephen Gard, 1776-1839, was born in Essex County, N. J., and educated in a classical academy near his home. He arrived at Columbia in 1798 and located at Trenton, where, in 1801, he was married to Rachel Pierce. He founded Baptist churches at Trenton, Middletown, Carlisle, Dayton and Hamilton.<sup>17</sup>

James Kemper (1755-1784) was born at Warrentown,

Fauquier Co., Va. Though reared in the Episcopal Church he was led to espouse the Presbyterian faith. In 1735, at the solicitation of Rev. David Rice, he moved to Kentucky to take a position as teacher in the Transylvania Seminary. In 1791 he was licensed and appointed to supply in the "churches of the Miami." In 1791 he came to Cincinnati where, after a year, he was ordained and installed pastor of the Presbyterian church at that place. Later he ministered to the Turtle Creek Presbyterian church, but his work here was cut short on account of the disapproval by the plain dressing pioneers of his wife's elaborate head-dress. Later he founded the Second Presbyterian church of Cincinnati. He was a man of ambitious plans and promoted the Kentucky Academy, the Walnut Hills Academy, the Cincinnati College, and Lane Theological Seminary.<sup>18</sup>

James Hughes was born of English parentage in York County, Pa. About 1780 he moved with his parents to Washington County where he received his classical and theological education, in part at least, under the tuition of Rev. John McMillan in the "Log College" which he erected near his house, and which still stands on the campus of old Jefferson College. He was licensed in 1788, and two years later was ordained and installed as pastor of the Short Creek and Lower Buffalo churches. He was probably the first Presbyterian clergyman ordained west of the Alleghenies. In these fields he labored until 1814. In 1815 he settled at Urbana, where he founded the Presbyterian church to which he ministered until 1818, when he was elected Principal of the Grammar School of Miami University. On moving to Oxford he organized the Presbyterian church at that place. Here he died in 1821.<sup>19</sup>

Robert H. Bishop (1777-1855) was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, graduating from the university at that place in 1798, and from the theological seminary at Selkirk in 1802. In that year he, with four others, was induced to migrate to America to minister to the Associate Presbyterian churches there. He, with another of these, was sent to the Ohio Valley to labor. After ministering for a time to churches in southern Ohio, he located at Lexington, Ky., where he occupied a professorship in Transylvania University, and the pastorate of two congregations

near that place. In 1819 he connected with the Presbyterian church, and became pastor of McChord church, Lexington. In 1820 he was made first president of Miami University. In this connection he served for a time as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Oxford. In Kentucky he was reckoned as one of her best pulpit orators. In 1844 he severed his connection with Miami, and became president of Farmers' College at College Hill, where he served until his death.<sup>20</sup>

The pioneer Methodist preacher of the Miami Valley was Francis McCormick who was born in Frederick County, Virginia, June 4, 1764. In 1790 he became a local preacher. In 1795 he moved to Kentucky and two years later crossed the river into Ohio, locating at Milford in Clermont County. At his suggestion, Bishop Asbury sent Rev. John Kobler to Ohio, and it was at his cabin that the first class was organized. He acted as guide to Kobler on his first tour of the Miami country. He was instrumental in organizing a class near Lockland and another near Columbia where he located in 1807.<sup>21</sup>

Rev. John Kobler was born in Virginia in 1768. At twenty-one he entered the ministry, and in 1798 he was appointed to the work in Ohio where he formed the Miami Circuit, being the first regularly appointed Methodist preacher in the Northwest Territory. He is described as tall and well proportioned, with long black hair, and unusual intellectual powers. The arduous work of the frontier undermined his health and he died after rendering eighteen years of ministerial service.<sup>22</sup>

Rev. John Collins was born of Quaker parentage in New Jersey in 1789. At an early age he was licensed as a local preacher. In 1803 he moved to Ohio and settled on the East Fork of the Little Miami where he purchased a tract of land. In 1807 he became an itinerant and attached to the Miami circuit. He was a man of prepossessing appearance, gentle spirit and great eloquence. He was the founder of the churches at Cincinnati, Columbia, Dayton, Hillsboro, and other places. He died in 1845.<sup>23</sup>

Does this survey reveal any general principles that determine the growth or decadence, the life or death of a congrega-

tion? I would not be over positive on this point but would propose the following tentatively:

To live and grow a congregation must

1. Become Americanized.
2. It must keep itself free from serious distractions.
3. It must have some aim in existing other than itself.
4. It must understand the application of the Divine principles of life and action in their relation to its own community and age.

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- Porter, *The Presbyterian Church of Oxford*, 8, 9.
20. Mills, *Life and Services of Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D.*  
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#### BUSINESS MEETING OF THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

A business meeting was held at the close of the Friday afternoon session. Prof. H. W. Elson called for the report of the committees on nominations and resolutions. The following officers were nominated and elected.

*President:* Prof. Harlow Lindley of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

*Vice Presidents:* Prof. J. R. Robertson of Berea College, Berea, Ky.; Mr. B. S. Patterson, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Prof. W. H. Siebert, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio; Prof. C. L. Martzolf, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

*Corr.\*Sec. and Treas.:* Prof. D. C. Shilling, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois.

*Rec. Sec. and Curator:* Prof. Elizabeth Crowther, Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio.

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RESOLUTIONS.

The members of the Ohio Valley Historical Association in their annual meeting at Columbus, Ohio, desire to express their appreciation:

1. To the Local Reception and Arrangements Committee for the cordial reception given the Association and the efficient arrangements made in all details.

2. To Prof. Siebert for his untiring efforts both before and during the meeting to make it a success.

3. To Pres. and Mrs. Thompson for the welcome extended and the reception tendered the Association at their home Thursday afternoon.

4. To Prof. and Mrs. Siebert for the privilege of meeting in their home for the noonday lunch on Friday.

5. To the State University and its officers for the hospitality of grounds and buildings.

6. To the State Archaeological and Historical Society for the use of its building and the opportunity to examine its collections. Also for the reception Friday afternoon and the banquet Friday evening.

7. To the Chamber of Commerce for the delightful automobile ride to points of interest in and about Columbus.

8. To the Department of Archives and History of West Virginia for the publication of proceedings and papers of the 1914 meeting in its annual report.

H. S. GREEN,

J. R. ROBERTSON.

The question of the place for the holding of the next annual meeting was discussed but referred for settlement to the executive committee. The Association voted to pay the traveling expenses of the Treasurer to the Columbus meeting.

## THIS MONUMENT IS OLDER THAN THE GREAT PYRAMIDS.

BY FELIX J. KOCH.

If you want to set your wits to work over something to which there may be an infinity of answers,—each based on facts as logical as the next, and yet each trying to solve a problem of utmost importance to the historian and the scientist, and of interest to intelligent persons the world over, just try to figure out how old the little mound in the accompanying picture may be!



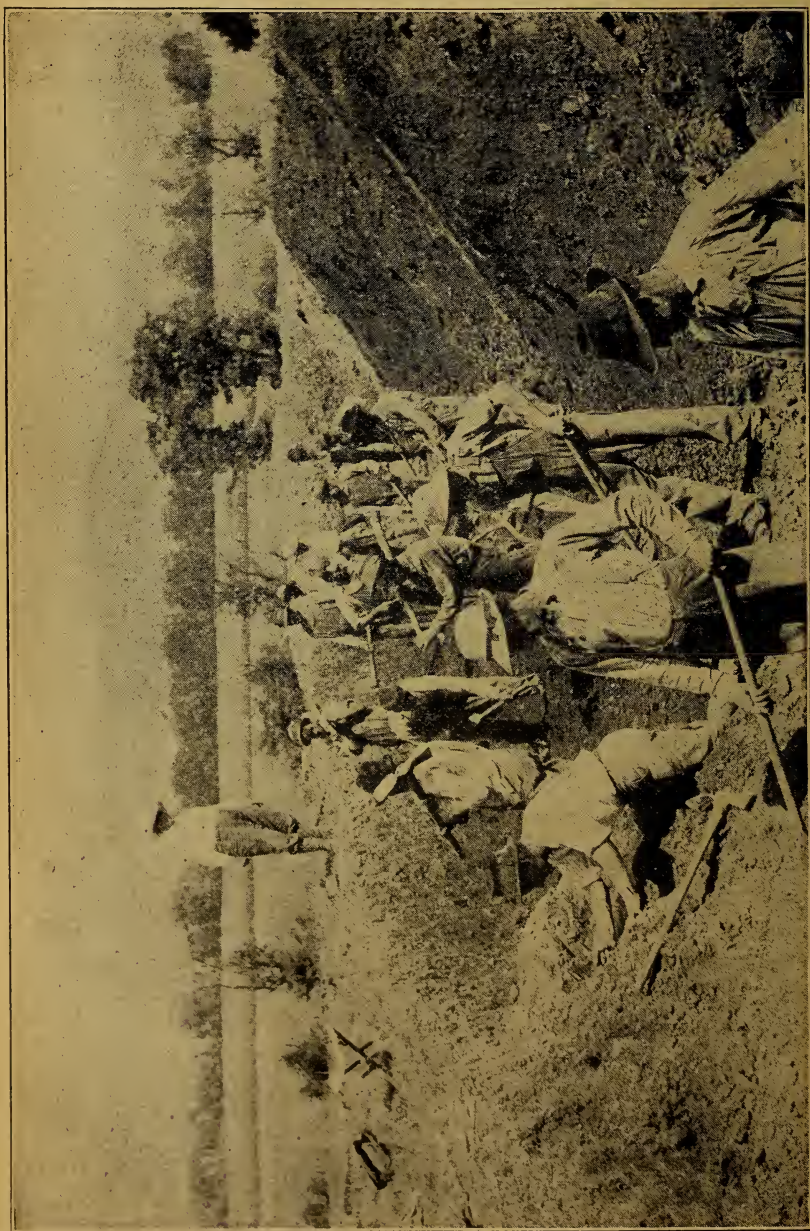
This mound, or tumulus, is one of a number of such monuments on the outskirts of Cincinnati,— bringing to that city scientists from all the world, every year, to open, study the remains; then try to guess when built and where the builders may have gone.

All manner of theories have been advanced as to the age of these lost peoples. In one mound in the Buckeye State, remains of a mastodon, killed by the Moundbuilders' flints, was found, covered by so many layers of leaf-mold, earth and the like, as to take the age back far beyond that of the Pyramids. So, again, there are those who have worked out the astronomical positions of the mounds,—and measuring, then, by declinations in the earth's elliptic since the time of their erection, they put the age at 150,000 years. So there are other theories, all of which go back, farther than mind can conceive.

And, meantime, the little tumulus,— which is known as the Newtown Mound,— keeps its secret,—and will no doubt remain, to puzzle the wise men for centuries to come.







## EXPLORATION OF THE TREMPER MOUND.

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WILLIAM C. MILLS.

The Tremper mound is situated five miles north of the city of Portsmouth, on the west side of the Scioto river, in Rush township, Scioto county, Ohio. The land upon which it is located is a part of the estate of Senator William D. Tremper, Portsmouth, which consists of more than seven hundred acres of the rich bottom lands at the confluence of the Pond creek and Scioto valleys.

The immediate site of the mound is a level plateau, about seventy feet above low-water mark of the Scioto river. Looking westward from the summit of the mound upon the narrow valley of Pond creek, threading its way between rugged hills upward of five hundred feet in height, one is impressed with the powerful forces employed by nature in carving out this narrow water course, enabling the stream, fed by innumerable springs, to carry its surplus of pure cool water to its junction with the Scioto river. During glacial times, Pond creek doubtless was an outlet for the waters from melting glaciers, pushing down from the northwest, as well as for that from icebergs incident to the glacial period. These icebergs at times doubtless resulted in damming the flow of the torrent, and an extremely interesting illustration of this retarding influence is to be seen just a few hundred yards west of the mound. At the point referred to a most impressive natural amphitheatre, semi-circular in form, one thousand feet long and fifty feet or more in height, marks the site along the east side of the valley of the stream where the glacial flood, breaking the restraint of the ice, has carved its history.

At the intersection of the Scioto and Pond creek valleys, and just a short distance southwest from the mound, is a fine spring

of water. This spring doubtless played an important part in the life of the builders of the Tremper mound and other aboriginal dwellers, just as it has done in supplying a never-failing source of pure cold water to the early white settlers of that section, to their descendants, and to all who at the present time pass along the highway where it invitingly awaits the thirsty traveler.

At the site of this spring, in an early day, was located the Buckhorn tannery, where General U. S. Grant is said to have worked for a short time. According to Mr. Frank Johnson, who was employed as a workman at the time of the exploration of the mound, his father, Lewis H. Johnson, was foreman of the tannery when General Grant was employed therein.

#### THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTY.

Scioto county, for the most part, is broken and hilly. The Scioto river flows directly through the county, from north to south, to its junction with the Ohio river at Portsmouth. The mouth of the Scioto is ninety feet below the level of Lake Erie, while its waters at Columbus are more than three hundred feet above the low-water mark of the Ohio, showing that the average fall per mile between Columbus and Portsmouth is more than three feet. The valley of the Scioto is the broadest and perhaps the most fertile of any of the rivers flowing into the Ohio.

The hills and ridges of Scioto county are simply the remnants of what once were continuous rock strata, now chiseled and sculptured by the tireless action of water and other natural agencies. Man has furthered the transformation by denuding the hills of their tangled forests, so that on every hand instead of woodland, are seen cultivated fields and pasture lands.

#### GEOLOGY.

From an archeological viewpoint, Scioto county presents several interesting features as regards geological formations. Among these are the outcropping, along the east bank of the Scioto river, of the Ohio pipestone (fire clay), and on the west bank of the river of the Ohio black shale, the latter underlying the whole county.



The Ohio pipestone deposit extends over the eastern part of the county, beginning at the Scioto river, where the outcrop lies high up on the hills and gradually dips to the southeast, and continuing until in the eastern part of the county the outcrop lies low down near the base of the hills. The pipestone stratum varies in thickness from one and one-half feet to eleven feet, the average being three and one-half or four feet. In color it varies greatly, ranging from almost white, through all the various shades of color, to dark red. The dark red variety is scarcely distinguishable from the Minnesota pipestone. The Ohio pipestone was extensively used by prehistoric man in this region for making tobacco pipes. Of the one hundred and forty-five pipes taken from the Tremper mound, all but four were made from that material, the exceptions being three of coral limestone and one of fine-grained sandstone.

The Ohio black shale is the lowest stratum exposed in the county. It outcrops along the west bank of the Scioto river. In color it is very black, is fine grained, high in carbon, and crumbles after long exposure. The shale was used by prehistoric man in making gorgets and other ornaments found in the mound.

#### HISTORICAL DATA ON THE MOUND.

The Tremper mound has been in the possession of the Tremper family for many years. The base of the mound never had been disturbed, as the owners were unwilling that the mound should be examined, except under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and for the benefit of the state. Several years ago, Senator Tremper's sons, Richard and William Tremper, made a superficial examination by digging into the top of the mound at several points, finding a number of skeletons buried not more than one foot below the surface. These burials doubtless were of an intrusive nature, as was shown by the finding of five additional and entirely similar burials in the exploration of the mound, but which differ greatly both in mortuary customs and artifacts from those of the real builders of the mound.

The first published account of the Tremper mound is found in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley", by Squier



and Davis, 1846, page 83; with a drawing of the mound, shown as plate 29, after the survey of Charles Whittlesey. The work is designated as an "Ancient Work and Animal Effigy, Scioto county, Ohio". Mr. Whittlesey's drawing is herewith reproduced, as Fig. 1, for comparison with the drawing, Fig. 2, made by Mr. George H. Miehl, surveyor for the Society's field explorations. In their description of the Tremper mound Squier & Davis say:

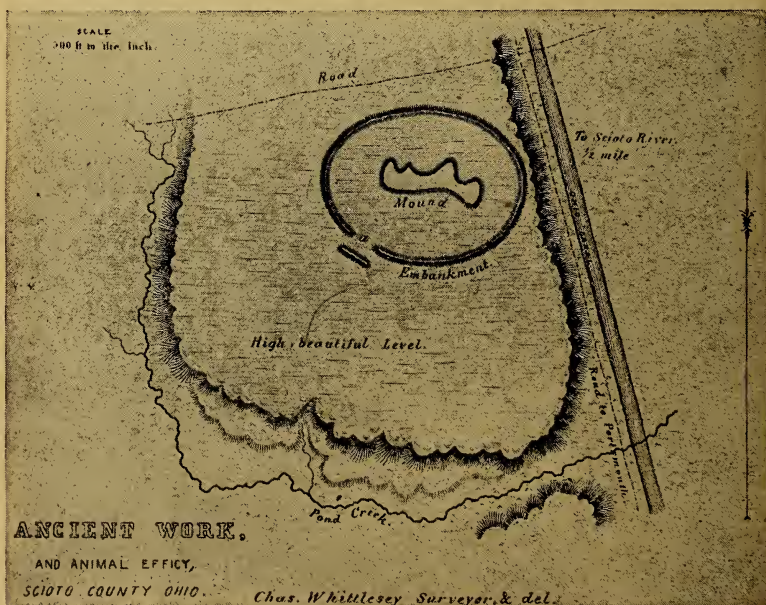


FIG. 1. Ancient Work and Animal Effigy, After Whittlesey.

DESCRIPTION BY SQUIER & DAVIS.

"This singular work is situated five miles north of Portsmouth, Scioto county, Ohio, on the west bank of the Scioto river. It is not a true ellipse, but approaches very near it. Its longest axis is four hundred and eighty feet, its conjugate diameter four hundred and seven feet. It is built upon a high and beautiful level, elevated some sixty or seventy feet above the Scioto river, which flows about half a mile to the eastward.

The embankment is unaccompanied by a ditch and is about three feet in height, by thirty feet base. It has, as shown in the plan, a single gateway, ninety feet wide, opening to the south-east, which is covered by a long exterior mound, of about the same height with the embankment of the enclosure.

"Within this enclosure is a large irregular mound, which from its resemblance to the animal-shaped mounds of Wisconsin, of which notice will be taken in another place, constitutes by far the most interesting feature of the work. It is of the form and relative size indicated in the plan, and is composed of loose broken sandstone and earth, based upon dislocated and broken sand-rock. It is from one to eight feet high, being lowest at the eastern end or head, and at the projecting points. It is probably of the same design with those of Wisconsin, already alluded to, which occur in great numbers and in long and apparently dependent ranges. None of those, however, so far as known, are found enclosed after the manner of the one here presented. No explanation of the probable design of this work will be attempted here: it is impossible, however, to disconnect it from the superstitions of the ancient people. An interesting fact is communicated by F. Cleveland, Esq., of Portsmouth, who assisted Mr. Whittlesey in making the survey of this work, and who was engineer on the Ohio canal when it was in progress; viz., that the workmen engaged in excavating found large quantities of mica, in sheets, in the immediate vicinity of this enclosure. This mineral is found in great abundance in the mounds and in the neighborhood of these ancient works."

Mr. Gerard Fowke in his "Archeological History of Ohio," ventures to call the Tremper mound "The Tapir", but states that "Ohio possesses several of these effigies, only two of which really resemble anything," referring to the great Serpent mound in Adams county and the Opossum mound in Licking county.

#### THE MOUND FROM AN EXTERNAL VIEWPOINT.

The opinion of Squier & Davis, as expressed in the second paragraph of the above quotation, to the effect that the Tremper mound probably was an effigy mound of the same design as

those of Wisconsin, was perhaps a natural conclusion, in view of their observations and of what up to that time was known of the mounds and their purpose.

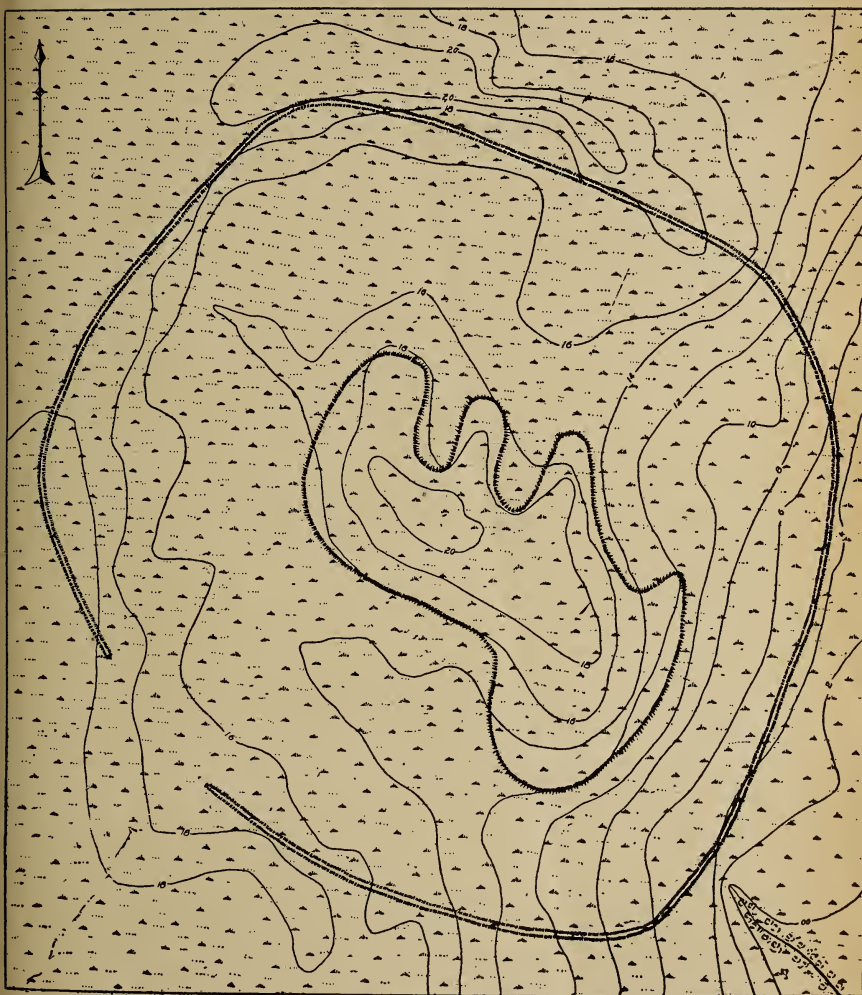
As the result of several visits to the Tremper mound within the past dozen years for the purpose of examining the general form and surroundings of the work, I had fully decided that the mound was not intended as an effigy of an elephant or of any other animal, but was very likely a burial mound belonging to the Hopewell culture. In many respects it resembled the Seip mound,\* along Paint creek, in Ross county, its irregular form apparently being due to additions made to the great charnel-house. This opinion is borne out by our present examination, which shows that the Tremper mound was not intended as an effigy of any kind, but that its shape was entirely the result of additions to the main site or structure, made and completed as needed.

According to Squier & Davis, who published the survey made by Charles Whittlesey, which is shown in Fig. 1, the earthwork is an almost perfect ellipse, with an extra wall closing the opening to the south-west. By referring to the topographic map made by our survey, Fig. 2, it will be seen that the early surveyors very likely used no instruments in making these surveys. It would seem that they made certain measurements from the mound center, and drew on paper what appeared to them to be the general form of the earthwork. It is true that one standing on the mound and viewing the earthwork from that viewpoint, receives the impression of an almost perfect ellipse; but the present survey found the earthwork to be a round-cornered rectangle, practically four hundred and twenty feet by four hundred and forty feet in size. Special inquiry among old residents concerning a possible embankment in front of the entrance to the earthwork, elicited the information that to their knowledge no earth had been hauled away, and our survey could find no trace of there ever having been a wall in front of this opening.

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\* Explorations of the Seip mound found in "Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio." Vol. 2, Part 1. Mills, 1909.





TOPOGRAPHIC MAP  
OF  
**TREMPER MOUND**

FIG. 2.



## THE EXPLORATION OF THE MOUND.

On the 21st of July, 1915, was begun the exploration of the Tremper mound.\* The examination had as its purpose the exposing to view of the entire site of the mound, the recording of all finds, and the photographing of all important features.

The surveyor of the party, Mr. George H. Miehl, made a complete survey of the mound and the earthwork that surrounds it before excavating was begun, and from his notes was prepared the topographic map shown in Fig. 2. He then established secondary traverse points upon and around the mound, and from these located, by the aid of the instrument, the various finds in the mound as they were unearthed, and from his notes prepared the map, Fig. 3, showing the plan of the floor of the mound. Mr. Miehl also prepared a plan showing a cross-section of the mound, upon which was recorded the depths of finds therein, as well as the depth of the soil composing the mound and of graves found below its base. The cross-section is shown in Fig. 4.

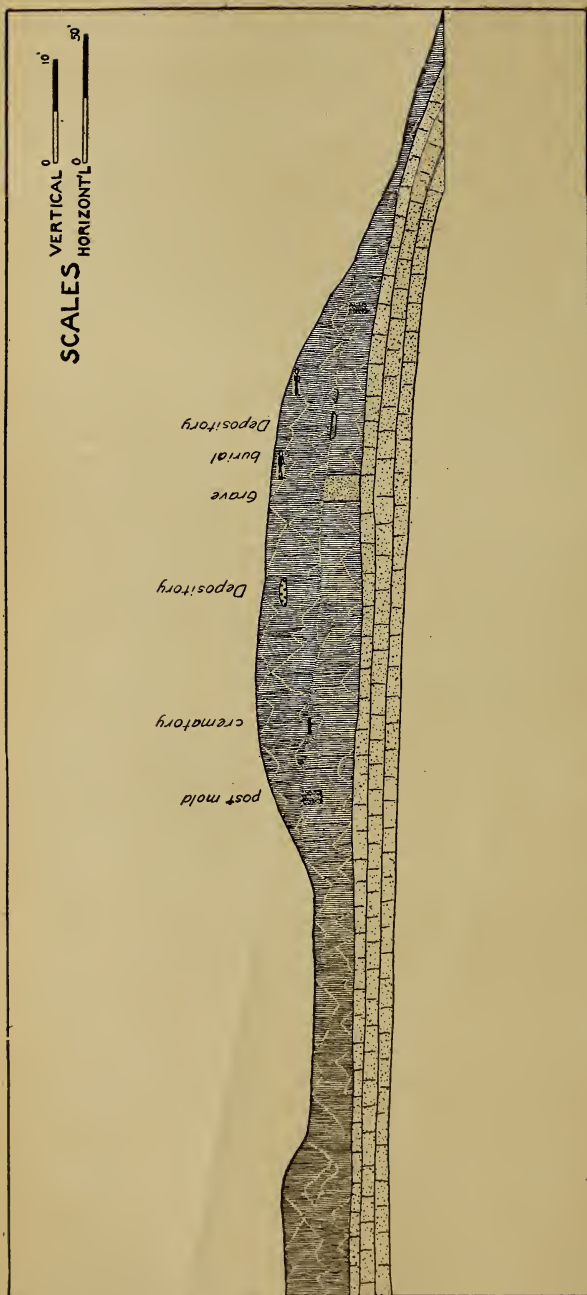
The maximum length of the mound as shown by our survey is two hundred and fifty feet and the maximum width one hundred and fifty feet, with an average width of one hundred and twenty feet. Its maximum height is eight and one-half feet, with an average height of about five feet. The solid contents of the mound are approximately three thousand cubic yards of earth, all of which was examined, after which the mound was restored to its original height and dimensions.

The surface of the mound had long been under cultivation and was devoid of trees or undergrowth, which greatly facilitated its examination. For the most part, it was constructed of surface soil secured in close proximity to the mound site, and within the encircling earthwork. Squier & Davis state that the mound is composed of loose broken sandstone and earth; we found but few pieces of sandstone, these occurring only in connection with intrusive burials. Within the body of the mound, now and then, small pockets of gravel were unearthed, while the central portion of the floor, surrounding the large communal grave and the cache of artifacts, was covered with fine sand to the depth of several inches.



PLAN OF FLOOR OF TREMPER MOUND.

FIG. 3.



# SECTION OF TREMPER MOUND

FIG. 4.

The work of examining the mound was greatly retarded by frequent rains, the trenches at times being filled with water, so that much time was lost placing them in condition to continue. The floor or base of the mound sloped to the southeast, the drainage consequently being in that direction. As a result that portion of the mound was wet, a condition which retarded our examination and very often interfered with the critical inspection which is always given to every portion of a mound while the workmen are engaged in its removal. The remarkably distinct floor, which in every part of the mound was readily distinguishable from the earth composing the mound itself, greatly facilitated the locating of the rows of postmolds, marking the outline of the structure, as well as of the various rooms and compartments thereof.

Approximately six hundred of these postmolds were noted. Many of them were clean cavities extending both below and above the floor line, this condition being found where the posts had not been entirely consumed in the burning of the structure, leaving them gradually to decay, their places being marked only by the hollow mold. In other instances, the proof of the burning of the structure when its purpose had been served, and preparatory to the erection of the mound, was seen in the partly burned and charred posts. These were present both in the molds, at the floor line, and also where they had fallen during the conflagration, and had been covered before they were consumed. Specimens of the charred sections of posts were taken out intact and placed on display in the Museum.

#### SITE OF THE MOUND A SACRED PLACE.

The work of exploration soon disclosed that the Tremper mound is of the great Hopewell culture, but, with the possible exception of Mound No. 8, Mound City group, differing in several important particulars from mounds of that culture already explored. These differences, which presented themselves as the work of excavation progressed, were the depositing of the ashes from the crematories in communal depositories, the burial of cremated remains beneath the base line of the mound, and the placing of the artifacts of the dead in common



caches. In this last respect, Mound No. 8, Mound City group, was analogous, and it is probable that the communal idea extended also to the disposition of the cremated remains, although this, as well as interment of cremated remains below the base line, cannot at present be determined, as the explorations of Squier & Davis in that mound were of so desultory a character as to preclude any very definite or extensive information. Therefore, insofar as actual information goes, the communal character of burial and the sub-base interment of cremated remains are features exclusively of the Tremper mound.

As is to be expected in mounds of the Hopewell culture, it was found that the site of the Tremper mound had been occupied by a structure serving as a sacred place, in which the dead were cremated, their ashes deposited in prepared receptacles, and the doubtless intricate ceremonials accompanying these proceedings, including the depositing of implements and ornaments of the deceased, were carried out. The structure proper had been a large oval enclosure, approximately two hundred feet long and half as wide. A number of chapel-like additions, possibly to afford more space or to supplement that of the main structure, had been built from time to time. Upright posts averaging six inches in diameter, set into the ground to a depth of about two and one-half feet, formed the outer walls of the complex structure, as well as the partitions separating them into various compartments. The remains of a sort of wattlework, woven of twigs and limbs was found, which doubtless had been used to close the interstices between the upright posts, which were set about three feet apart. The floor of the area comprising the sacred structure had been carefully leveled and smoothed, and in places fine sand had been spread out over it. Doubtless parts of the structure at least had some sort of roof or thatch, as indicated by the arrangement of certain of the posts, but no direct evidence of the existence of such a roof was found.

Reference to the map shown in Fig. 3, "Plan of Floor of Tremper Mound," explains the arrangement of the structure into rooms or compartments. The postmolds indicate the outline of the entire building and of the additions, as well as various

partitions and supports. The more important of the additions to the main structure, it will be noted, were on the east and southeast, with others, in the nature of passageways and enclosures, with openings leading to the interior, principally along the north side. There appear to have been several openings at the extreme west end. It was the covering over with earth of these secondary additions, in constructing the mound, which gave it the anomalous shape suggesting the erroneous idea of an intentional animal effigy.

#### SPECIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE COMPARTMENTS.

The great room comprising the central and western portion of the structure, and particularly the south side thereof, was devoted entirely to the care of the dead. Here the greater number of the crematories were located, as well as several small depositories. Of the three large circular additions built onto the east end of the structure, the most southerly, forty-five by fifty feet in size, contained three large crematories, and apparently was given over entirely to the purpose of cremation. The floor of this room was covered to a depth of about one inch with charred leaves and straw.

The room directly north, being the central one of the three additions at the east end of the main structure, appears to have been given over entirely to the great cache of pipes and associated artifacts, described elsewhere. It contained however, in addition to the cache, a rectangular prepared basin or depository, unused, a cremated burial of a single individual, and a large fireplace. In this room, the floor of which had been covered with sand, no posts had been placed interiorly. This provided a large space around the fireplace, entirely clear from obstructions, a condition not noted in any other part of the structure.

The room just north of the one containing the cache, held a very large prepared depository for the ashes of the dead, and a large fireplace. This room doubtless was the main vault, in which the greater part of the cremated remains from the entire structure were deposited.

The smaller additions along the north side appear to have been mainly in the nature of long passageways and small rooms.

The floors of these, in great part, were covered with charred leaves, cloth and other charred substances, strewn in places to a depth of several inches. The most definitely outlined of these rooms along the north side, is that shown as number 25, in Fig. 3. This room appears to have been a veritable workshop and kitchen, the floor being strewn with the bones of animals, such as the deer, elk, bear, turkey and raccoon. None of these bones had been worked, but all were broken, indicating the use of the animals as food. Broken pottery, apparently associated with the preparation and storing of food, was also abundant on this floor, as was Ohio black shale, in pieces of a size suggesting their use in the making of ornaments. Practically the entire floor of this room was covered with mica flakes, in size from the smallest bits to fragments an inch or more in diameter, many of them apparently refuse from the large crystals of mica found in the great cache.

To the southeast of this room, and adjacent thereto, was a room, below the floor of which were found the two graves containing cremated burials, and described elsewhere.

Study of the map of the floor plan and of the data pertaining to the mound, enables one to picture rather vividly, the activities, carried on doubtless through a considerable length of time, of its builders in disposing of their dead.

#### DISPOSITION OF THE DEAD.

Cremation was an exclusive practice with the builders of the Tremper mound, not a single instance of uncremated burial being recorded. The uncremated burials found near the top of the mound, and described elsewhere, were of an intrusive nature, and did not pertain to the culture responsible for the building of the mound.

The crematories were identical with those found in the Harness and Seip mounds, and others of the same culture explored. They were twelve in number, and were scattered generally through the structure. All showed evidence of long-continued use, and in most of them the presence of charred human remains was noted. They were most in evidence in the

large room, at the south center of the structure, which seems to have been especially set apart for this purpose. The crematories were basin-shaped, many of them quite deep. The earth beneath them was burned red for a depth of almost one foot.

#### DISPOSAL OF CREMATED REMAINS.

The placing of the ashes of the dead in prepared communal depositories was the rule with the builders of the mound. The exceptions were two cremated burials below the floor of the mound, and two individual cremated burials. The communal depositories, peculiar to the Tremper mound, were four in number, consisting of a main depository, located in the east end of the structure, and three smaller ones, in the western end. These communal graves correspond in use, and to some extent in form, to the prepared graves of the Harness, Seip and other mounds of this culture explored, with the distinction that they served to contain, not a single burial or one consisting of the remains of a few individuals, as in the Seip mound, but an unlimited number of burials.

The depository numbered 8 in Fig. 3, and pictured as Fig. 5, was made of fine puddled clay, which after being worked into place was burned. The clay was applied with the hands, imprints of fingers being visible, as were also marks of the digging stick used in tamping down and shaping the sides of the basin. The depository was in the form of a parallelogram, ten feet and three inches long, and five feet wide, with a central depth of six inches. The bottom measured six feet and six inches long by thirteen inches wide, its surface being perfectly flat and level. The grave was filled with human ashes and charred bone to a depth of a little more than one foot; these ashes however, were very compact, and originally must have been piled high above the rim of the basin. The contents of the depository no doubt represent the remains of hundreds of cremated bodies, indicating the use of the grave for a long period of time. The floor surrounding the great basin was covered on the south and west sides with fine yellow sand, and on the east and north sides with bits of charcoal and ashes mixed with clay.





FIG. 5. The Great Depository for the Cremated Dead.

The three small depositories, shown as 20, 21 and 22, in Fig. 3 were not specialized as was the large one, but were merely prepared bases of clay. The ashes of the dead were piled upon these flat bases to a depth of two and one-half inches in No. 20; two inches in No. 21 and three inches in No. 22. A specialized depository (No. 6, in Fig. 3) was found near the great cache, but it contained no cremated remains and apparently never was used. In form it was very similar to the large grave, and measured five feet and three inches in length and two feet and five inches in width, outside measurements.

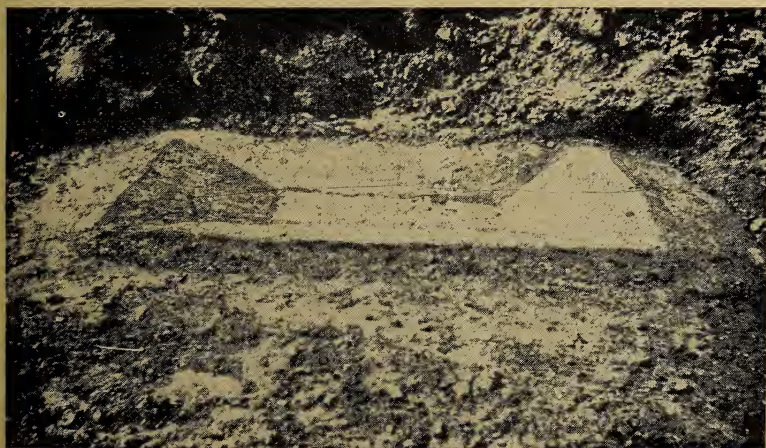


FIG. 6. The Unused Depository.

A comparison of the mortuary customs of the Tremper mound builders with those of the Harness and Seip mounds, shows the great advantage of the communal plan of the former. In the use of individual prepared graves, as in the Harness mound, or in the Seip mound where the graves occasionally were enlarged so as to hold as many as four cremated bodies, the available space soon would be exhausted, while under the communal grave plan, the number of cremations that could be placed in one depository was limited only by the size of the depository. Additional depositories, moreover, could easily be constructed, making the Tremper mound plan of burial much superior.



## ESTIMATED NUMBER OF CREMATIONS.

There is no way of exactly ascertaining the number of dead contained in the four depositories of the Tremper mound. The bulk of ashes and charred bones was computed at twenty-five cubic feet, which, allowing one-fifteenth of a cubic foot to each burial, would represent the cremation of three hundred and seventy-five individuals. No doubt this is far short of the total number of dead cremated, as the floor of the charnel-house was strewn with ashes and fragments of charred human bones.

An individual, cremated burial was found in the room containing the great cache, and is shown as No. 24 in Fig. 3. This burial appears to have been of considerable importance, as it was placed in the angle formed by the joining of two walls, and a row of small posts placed around it. A second individual cremated burial was found in this room, about two and one-half feet above the floor. With the charred remains was a flint spearpoint, six inches long.

## BURIALS BENEATH FLOOR LEVEL.

A feature peculiar to the Tremper mound was the finding of cremated burials beneath the floor. These are shown as 12 and 13 in Fig. 3. The two graves were three and one-half feet deep, the floors being the surface of the undisturbed sandstone strata underlying the site. Their dimensions were seven feet long and three feet wide, and seven feet long and five feet wide, respectively. The first grave, No. 12, contained only a small amount of ashes and charred remains, and no artifacts of any kind. The second grave contained, besides the cremated remains, four copper ear ornaments, mica cut into the form of crescents, a mica effigy of the bear, and a small flint spearpoint.

## PRIMITIVE MASONRY.

A special feature of this grave was a wall of thin slabs of sandstone at the sides and ends of the grave, completely lining it, and forming a vault-like receptacle, with perpendicular walls. As far as recorded this is the only instance of a regularly laid

up wall of stone, constructed by aboriginal man in Ohio. The wall was two and one-half feet high, constructed of flat pieces of sandstone, averaging from one inch to three inches in thickness, and in length from four to twelve inches.

#### FIRE PLACES.

What might easily have been confused with the crematories of the mound, were two fireplaces, situated one in each of the more northerly of the tier of rooms at the east end of the mound, and shown in Fig. 3 as 4 and 7. That shown as 4 was located in the room where the great cache was found, and was surrounded by an extensive space of level floor, unencumbered by interior posts. The fireplace was three feet in diameter and in the form of a basin, four inches in depth, the earth being burned red for one foot below its base. The basin contained no remains of human bones, but instead charcoal and ashes in great quantities. The fireplace shown as 7 in Fig. 3, located in the room with the great depository, was fully four feet in diameter, circular in form, with a basin-like depression at the center, four and one-half inches deep. It was filled with charcoal and the earth beneath burned red for fully one foot in depth. This fireplace showed evidences of having been mended by plastering the sides of the basin with puddled clay.

The prominence of the location of these two fireplaces, with respect to the communal deposits of ashes and artifacts, suggests that they may have been dedicated to the sacred fire, which plays so important a part in the ceremonial observances of primitive peoples.\* From the great depth to which the earth beneath them is burned, it would appear that they were in use for a long time; while the amount of charcoal contained therein would indicate that they were burning at the time the construction of the mound was begun.

#### INTRUSIVE BURIALS.

As is not infrequent in mounds of any culture, the Tremper mound was found to contain intrusive burials. These were

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\* The Cherokees believed that a perpetual sacred fire burned beneath the mounds.



placed near the top of the mound uncremated, and were of a culture entirely different from that of its builders.

Previous to the exploration of the mound, the sons of Dr. Tremper had, in occasionally digging into its top, unearthed perhaps ten of these intrusive burials. Our examination disclosed five additional skeletons, one of which is shown in Fig. 7. Two of the burials were so near the surface that cultivation had disturbed them. The graves of these burials were all prepared by placing slabs of sandstone on edge around the sides and ends, and by using similar slabs as coverings. The large stone shown lying across the neck of the skeleton in Fig. 7, is



FIG. 7. Intrusive Burial near Surface.

one of these slabs, which had fallen into the grave. Artifacts found with the intrusive burials are shown in Fig. 8.

#### DISPOSITION OF ARTIFACTS.

The communal disposition of the ashes of the dead, as carried out in the Tremper mound, naturally would be accompanied by a similar disposition of the artifacts usually associated with burial. The logical expectation perhaps, would be to find them deposited along with the ashes in the common receptacle; that is, simply substituting for graves containing individual burials and artifacts, a common grave wherein the ashes and

artifacts of an unlimited number of individuals would be placed. Instead of this, however, it was found that separate depositories were provided for each.

The great cache of tobacco pipes and associated objects found by Squier & Davis in 1846, in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, Ross county, has been the wonder of archeological research in Ohio until the present time. Few archeologists ex-

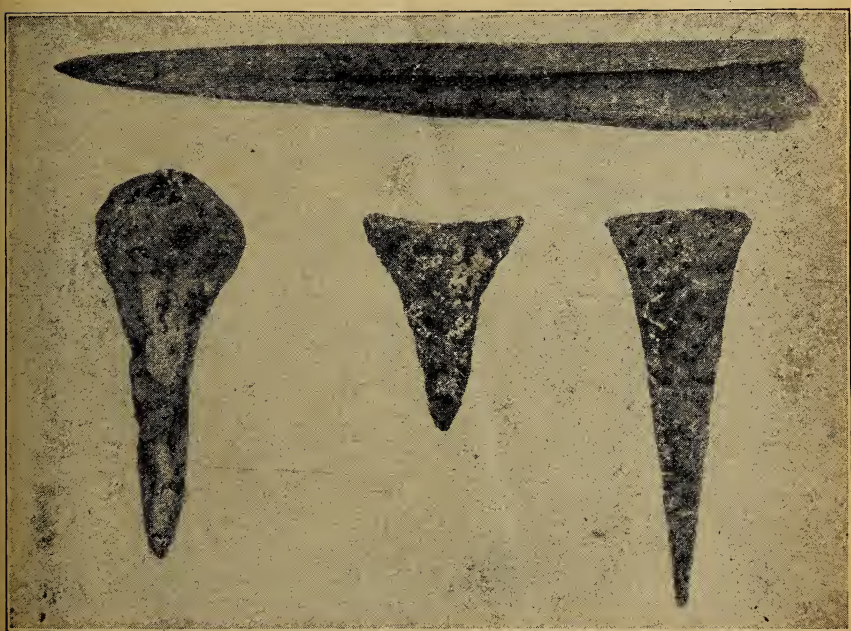


FIG. 8. Artifacts Found with an Intrusive Burial.

pected that this great find ever would be equalled, the cache being considered as unique and alone in its class. Owing to the superficial character of the Squier & Davis' explorations at that place, the Mound City tumulus and its remarkable contents have been only indifferently understood; now, however, the examination of the Tremper mound not only throws the desired light upon the character of the Ross county mound, by duplicating its known features, but even goes so far as greatly to sur-

pass it in point of artifacts found, both as to number and artistic execution.

The results of the exploration of the Tremper mound, aside from their bearing upon any phase of Ohio archeology, are exceedingly gratifying; but when they serve further to elucidate the exact nature and purpose of the only mound altogether similar, so far explored, the results are, in effect, two-fold.

Two distinct caches of artifacts were found in the Tremper mound; one, the principal depository for the ornaments and implements of the dead, being very extensive and apparently having served along with the great depository for ashes through a considerable period of time, and the other, evidently deposited all at one time during the construction of the mound. The first, or larger, of these caches, was located in the central one of the three large rooms at the east end of the structure, and is shown as 5, in Fig. 3. It occupied a space of about six feet in diameter along the south side of the unused depository, shown as 6, the objects comprising it being placed in a heap, of which the large stone disk, shown as Fig. III, formed the center.

All objects in this cache had been intentionally broken, the supposition being that this was done to avert the likelihood of their being stolen from the great open deposit. The cache of artifacts, as was the cumulation of ashes in the communal grave, was a product of time, doubtless a number of years elapsing between the time it was begun and the final destruction of the building. Despite the natural respect of primitive man for the property of the dead, the beautiful objects placed in the cache would prove a great temptation to the derelict, or to the stranger who might gain access thereto; so that, to render them undesirable each object was deliberately broken, and the fragments then deposited in the cache. In this respect, as in all others recorded, the Mound City tumulus, Mound No. 8, was similar.

The second cache of artifacts was found near the center of the mound, two and one-half feet above the floor line. This secondary cache, so far as known peculiar to the Tremper mound, differed from the large cache in that the objects composing it were unbroken and in perfect condition. This is



readily understood, when the position of the cache in the mound is considered. Being within the mound proper, and well above the floor, it clearly had been made after the burning of the structure and during the erection of the mound, the objects being deposited simultaneously and at once covered over, thus averting danger of theft.

#### CONTENTS OF THE CACHES.

The feature of the large cache was one hundred and thirty-six tobacco pipes. These pipes were of the so-called platform type, a number of them being carved in the effigy of birds and animals, and the remainder plain. Besides the pipes there were in this cache, among other things, beads, gorgets and boat-shaped objects of copper; crystals of mica and galenite; ear ornaments of stone; cones cut from quartz crystals and galena; ornaments made from jaws of animals and of man; flint cutting implements; mealing stones; woven fabrics; and the large stone disk already mentioned. In addition to the objects enumerated, there were present in the cache many objects made from wood and bone, mostly decomposed or burned. A total of more than five hundred specimens had been placed in this cache.

The smaller of the two caches contained nine tobacco pipes, representing the platform type, the tubular and the modified tubular types. Among those of the platform type were several extremely large and fine pipes, made from red Ohio pipestone, the largest and finest ever found in an Ohio mound.

The tubular forms likewise are particularly large and fine. In addition to the pipes, this cache contained a pair of the rare type of ear ornaments, made from red Ohio pipestone, and a pierced slate tablet.

#### ART DEVELOPMENT.

The sculptural art displayed in the pipes taken from the Tremper mound represents the highest esthetic attainment of the Hopewell culture, and probably never has been surpassed by any people in the stone age period of its existence. The technique displayed in the portrayal of life forms is no less admirable than the apparent faculty of the artist for observing



and appreciating the habits and peculiar characteristics of the birds and animals with which he was familiar. The animal and bird forms depicted in the sculptures, comprise fifteen genera of the former and twelve of the latter, the genera in a number of instances, being represented by several species.

In the pipes of the plain type, the graceful forms of both bases and bowls, and the bi-lateral symmetry of the specimens, is such as to attract attention and compel admiration.

#### THE MOUND CITY CACHE.

In 1846 Squier & Davis found a cache in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, which they describe as follows: "Intermixed with much ashes, were found not far from two hundred pipes,\* carved in stone, many pearl and shell beads, numerous discs, tubes, etc., of copper, and a number of other ornaments of copper, covered with silver, etc.; etc. The pipes were much broken up, some of them calcined by the heat, which had been sufficiently strong to melt copper, masses of which were found fused together in the centre of the basin. A large number have nevertheless been restored, at the expense of much labor and no small amount of patience."

I never have had the pleasure of seeing the collection of pipes taken from Mound No. 8 and now in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, England. However, from the cuts and description of the broken specimens, in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" and in the catalog of the Blackmore Museum, I am satisfied that the breaking was not due to fire, but that they were broken intentionally when placed in the cache, exactly as were the pipes in the Tremper mound. Stone broken by heat has a different appearance from stone broken by a blow from a heavy instrument; as to the copper being melted, I am satisfied that Squier & Davis confused the adhesion of copper pieces, due to oxidation, with what they mistook for

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\* The collection of Squier & Davis was purchased by Mr. Blackmore for his Museum at Salisbury, England. The number of pipes secured in mound No. 8 as recorded in the Museum's printed catalog, known as "Flint Chips," is only 95.

fusion by fire, which they state was "sufficiently strong to melt copper."

This condition of copper pieces firmly adhering thru corrosion, was found in the Tremper mound, associated with the pipes. The same condition was quite noticeable in the Harness and Seip mounds and is found in practically all mounds where a number of copper pieces are placed together. In the Harness mound numbers of ear ornaments were united thru corrosion, suggesting their fusion by fire; but on the contrary, the charred remains of the cremated dead placed over them, had protected the ear ornaments from any contact with the fire kindled as the final ceremony. The Seip mound gave many more examples of the fusing of copper pieces by corrosion. In one instance large copper plates were so united that they could not be separated; in another a copper plate could not be detached from a crescent of copper partly covering it; and yet none of these specimens had been subjected to the action of fire.

#### BUILT BY SAME PEOPLE.

The data given by Squier & Davis in their explorations of the Mound City group, is not sufficient to make available for comparison the manner in which the objects were deposited in the cache, but the similarity of the sculptured pipes from the two mounds and the stone from which they were carved, seems to be proof conclusive that they were made by peoples having the same mortuary customs, and were placed in the cache in the same way. For instance, the heron eating a fish, found by Squier & Davis is almost an exact duplicate of one from the Tremper mound, as is also the otter with a fish in its mouth, altho this specimen was mistaken by Squier & Davis for the manitus, a water animal whose habitat is Florida. In fact all the animal sculptures from the Mound City group, with the exception of the elk, were duplicated in the Tremper mound and in addition the following sculptures were found: gray fox, porcupine, dog, deer, rabbit and mink.

While the art shown in the Tremper Mound pipes in general is superior to the Mound City specimens, both as to sculpture of the various animal and bird forms and in their

fidelity to nature, the technique in both instances is strikingly similar.

The Tremper mound site is not so large as the Mound City group site, but the protecting earthwork surrounding it is similar. The unfortunate lack of detailed information concerning the mounds in the Mound City group, explored by Squier & Davis, makes impossible a comparison of the disposal of the dead by the Tremper and Mound City peoples.

Squier & Davis state that the great cache in mound No. 8 was placed upon a sacrificial altar "intermixed with much ashes," and from their statement that "the pipes were much broken — some of them calcined by heat, which had been sufficiently strong to melt copper," we must infer that they believed that a great fire had been kindled upon the altar. These same conditions obtained in the Tremper mound and while we have proof that the building covering the site was destroyed by fire, I am sure that no fire was especially kindled upon the cache itself. Altho objects made of bone, wood and cloth were found in a charred state, the fire was not sufficient to melt the crystals of lead found in the cache, nor in any way to injure the broken pipes or stone gorgets.

Taking everything into consideration it would not be surprising to find that the Mound City peoples, after erecting their mounds, migrated down the Scioto and formed a new settlement on the site of Tremper mound. At any rate, if not the same people or parts of the same people, the builders of the two sites must have been very closely related.

#### DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACTS.

In the following pages the various implements and ornaments found in the two caches of the Tremper mound are described in detail, and wherever possible comparisons are made with like objects from other mounds.

#### TOBACCO PIPES.

One hundred and forty-five pipes were taken from the Tremper mound, one hundred and thirty-six of them being

found in the large cache and nine in the small one. All pipes in the first cache were intentionally broken as deposited, while those placed in the second cache were in perfect condition, having been deposited simultaneously while the mound was in process of erection.

Most careful and painstaking scrutiny was required in finding the broken parts of all pipes and other objects,\* comprising the larger cache, the fragments being scattered thru a great mass of charred material, debris and earth covering the cache, parts of specimens often being several feet distant from one another. One hundred and six of the one hundred and thirty-six pipes secured, were fully restored. The remaining thirty, made of very soft materials, were weathered and decomposed beyond repair. More than half of these thirty fragmentary pipes had been broken while in use and mended with copper, by the owners. About twenty of the thirty are effigies of birds of various kinds, the other ten being effigies of the otter and beaver and the plain curved platform type. Of the one hundred and six pipes restored, sixty are effigies and the remainder plain, the latter made with more or less expanded bowls and curved bases. All of the one hundred and six are made of the Ohio pipestone native to the region adjacent to the mound, with the exception of one—the large eagle effigy—which is made of coral limestone. In almost every instance, the pipes found by Squier & Davis were made of this same pipestone, altho they did not recognize the stone as a native product but stated that the pipes were “mostly composed of a red porphyritic stone, somewhat resembling the pipestone of the Coteau des Prairies, excepting that it is of great hardness and interspersed with small variously colored granules.” At the time of the explorations by Squier & Davis (1846) but little was known of the geological formations in the state so that they may be excused for not recognizing the rock from which the pipes were made, altho its native bed is only a short distance from the mound.

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\* My assistant, Mr. H. C. Shetrone, for the most part removed the contents of the cache. Much credit is due him for his careful work in securing the broken parts and afterwards in restoring the pipes.



## COMPOSITION OF THE PIPESTONE.

After the Mound City finds were installed in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, England, Professor A. C. Church, chemist in the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, made a chemical analysis of the material of which the pipes were made, and in his report† calls it argillaceous ironstone and describes its physical character as follows: "This stone is not a definite mineral but a mixture of minerals—a rock. Its hardness varies in different parts of the same specimen—the harder parts approaching six and the softer parts not exceeding 4.5. These softer parts are paler in colour, contain much less iron than the harder parts, and seem to consist of minute globules of a compound silicate, perhaps a feldspar. Some of the pipes and other objects fashioned from this ferruginous stone are much fissured internally and blacker inside than out. When most compact this stone has a density 4.3; when least so about 3.07." Quoting further from Professor Church: "In the following analysis the silica was ascertained 'by difference' and includes a little alkali. In 100 parts there are:

Silica .....	46.42
Ferric oxide—	
(Peroxide of iron).....	34.80
Alumina .....	16.45
Magnesia .....	.46
Lime .....	1.48
Water .....	.39
	<hr/>
	100.00

"The collection contains many examples of this curious clay ironstone. Some of these approach in structure to the red pipestone (Coteau des Prairies), often termed catlinite. But they are more variolitic in texture and much more mottled and diversified in colour. Some specimens are iron gray or dark brown; others pale gray, spotted with white."

The analysis of samples of the pipestone from Gephart

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† "Flint Chips," by Edward T. Stevens, 1870; page 415.

Station, Scioto county, Ohio, as made by Dr. James R. Withrow, of Ohio State University is as follows:

Silica dioxide .....	48.87
Aluminum oxide .....	32.39
Ferrous oxide .....	1.26
Titanium dioxide .....	1.45
Calcium oxide .....	.40
Magnesium oxide .....	.35
Alkalis .....	1.52
Phosphoric acid .....	.12
Sulphur .....	.26
Loss on ignition.....	12.98

The following analysis of fireclay from Sciotoville, Scioto county, Ohio, was made by Professor Edward Orton, Jr., of Ohio State University:

Silica .....	43.75
Oxide aluminum .....	34.10
Oxide iron .....	3.66
Oxide titanium .....	3.84
Oxide calcium .....	.56
Oxide magnesium .....	.55
Oxide potassium .....	.07
Oxide sodium .....	.03
Loss on ignition.....	13.86
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Total .....	100.42

The marked difference in the analyses, particularly as regards iron oxide, is due to the fact that the Mound City specimens analyzed were of the red pipestone, heavy in iron, while those analyzed by the Ohio State University chemists were of the lighter colored stone, having a comparatively low percentage of iron.

#### ANIMAL SCULPTURES.

The animal sculptures represented in the pipes from the mound comprise at least fifteen genera, numbering from one to six specimens each. Those identified are: bear, mountain lion, wildcat, raccoon, porcupine, opossum, beaver, otter, dog,

rabbit, mink, deer, fox, wolf and squirrel. Taken as a whole, these animal effigies, while not always closely approximating nature, with respect to form and proportions, depict many of the characteristics and peculiarities of the subject portrayed and display a striking familiarity on the part of the prehistoric artist, with the native fauna.

#### OTTER EFFIGY PIPES.

Pipes made in the image of the otter (*Lutra canadensis*) taken from the mound are eight in number. In five of these the animal is represented with a fish in its mouth, two of the sculptures being full length, Figs. 9 and 10, while three of them represent only the head and shoulders, Figs. 11 and 12. The three remaining show the plain head and shoulders. The early sculptors must have been greatly impressed with the otter, as they were able to portray in stone, with remarkable fidelity to nature the appearance and habits of the animal as is shown in Figs. 9 and 10.

To those who have studied the habits of the otter, it is readily apparent that the ancient sculptor in depicting this animal produced a masterpiece full of spirit and action. Comparison of the sculpture of the otter taken from the mound with a colored plate of the same animal shown in Cuvier's *Mammalia*, Vol. 2, plate 315, and with the animal itself, readily shows how true to nature the ancient artisan did his work, and how erroneously the early modern artists sometimes portrayed their subjects.

The sculptured pipe of the otter shown in Fig. 9 is made of yellowish-brown Ohio pipestone, the platform four and one-half inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide at each end, and one and three-fourths inches wide in the center, with a pronounced curve from front to back. The platform is a full quarter of an inch in thickness, cut square at the front, or stem end, where the stem hole leads to the bowl, the back end forming a gracefully rounded curve. The bowl of the pipe extends vertically thru the body of the otter, which is carved at full length with a large well formed fish in its mouth. The sculptor has displayed much skill in portraying such features of the



FIG. 9. Pipe in the Effigy of the Otter.



FIG. 10. Pipe in the Effigy of the Otter.



animal as the bowed back, large flat head, short ears and compressed tail, all of which are characteristic of the otter.

Fig. 10 is another effigy of the otter, and like that shown in Fig. 9 is sculptured at full length with a fish in its mouth. The workmanship on this specimen is equally as good as in the preceding one. The pipe is made of blue-gray Ohio pipe-stone, highly polished. The length of the platform is four inches, the width one and one-fourth inches and the thickness a full quarter of an inch. The end from which the stem hole is drilled is square, and the other end rounded with a notch cut into its edge. The broad flat head and short ears are well fashioned and the color markings around the head and neck are distinct.

Fig. 11 is a bold representation of the otter, carrying a fish in its mouth, only the head, shoulders and forelegs of the animal being depicted. The facial and body markings are quite pronounced and the eyes are set with copper. The pipe bowl is unusually large, extending more than two inches above the platform and measuring a little more than one inch in diameter.



FIG. 11. Pipe in the Effigy of the Otter.

The platform is a representative one, the ends square with rounded corners; length of stem three and one-half inches; width at each end one and one-fourth inches, expanding at the center to one and three-fourths inches. The bottom of the platform is embellished with an oval plate of copper one inch long and one-half inch wide, set in a depression cut into the stone. The plate which can be seen in the cut, is near the stem end of the platform, the other end being ornamented with a band of criss-cross lines one-fourth of an inch in width, cut at right angles to the stem. The pipe is made of light blue-gray Ohio pipestone with splotches of brown, and is a fair example of the three pipes of this form.



FIG. 12. Pipe in the Effigy of the Otter.

Fig. 12 is a splendid representation of the otter, in which the sculptor emphasized the broad flat head and peculiar nose of the animal. The color markings on the head and front of the body are well defined. The pipe is small but well carved, the platform being two and seven-eighths inches long and one inch wide at each end, with only a slight enlargement at the center. The stem end of the platform is square while the other end is oval, with a small indentation in its edge. The pipe is made of light blue-gray Ohio pipestone. Two pipes found by Squier & Davis in mound No. 8,\* Mound City group are identified by

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\* Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley; page 257.

them as the otter. One of these, Fig. 157, in my opinion is not the otter, while Figs. 153 and 154 in the same volume, named by them the lamantin, I am perfectly satisfied represent the otter. The markings upon the heads and fronts of these pipes are similar to those on the otter pipes, taken from the Tremper mound.

As far as recorded the Mound City group and the Tremper mound are the only ones in Ohio from which the sculptures of the otter have been taken. The skeletal remains of the otter were found in the Gartner Village site six miles north of Chillicothe, along the Scioto, where a number of parts of skulls were secured. At the Baum Village site more than twenty parts of skulls of the otter were found, showing that this animal was much sought after, not only for its skin, but also for food.

#### RACCOON EFFIGY PIPES.

Fig. 13 is the image of the raccoon in a characteristic attitude perched on the top of a stump or broken limb, far above the ground and viewing its surroundings. The pipe is made of grayish-brown Ohio pipestone. The platform base is gracefully curved, is four inches in length, one and one-fourth inches



FIG. 13. Pipe in the Image of the Raccoon.



wide at each end and one and one-half inches at the center. The ends are square, the rear end having the corners rounded. The bowl of the pipe rises from about the center of the platform and upon this bowl is carved the complete image of the raccoon, grasping the sides of the broken limb with head and tail extending far out on either side. The head and tail are exaggerated but the facial markings are very good, and the angle of the ears gives the animal the characteristic appearance of alertness when intently viewing some object.



FIG. 14. Pipe in the Image of the Raccoon.

Fig. 14 shows another image of the raccoon in about the same attitude as that in Fig. 13. The pipe is made of blue-gray Ohio pipestone, and is somewhat longer and bolder than the one just described. The platform has a gentle curve, is four and one-half inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide at each end, and one and three-fourths inches wide in the center. With the exception of the exaggerated tail the sculptor has truthfully portrayed the characteristics of the animal. The eyes are properly placed and are made of copper.

Fig. 15 is another splendid sculpture of the raccoon, which is represented at full length with its left foot in a crawfish hole,



a peculiar and well known habit of the animal. This well carved pipe shows that the sculptor, doubtless a close observer of the raccoon, was really able to record in stone for all time a faithful account of this animal and its habits as seen by aboriginal man. He shows the general posture the animal assumes as it leisurely searches the crawfish hole for food, and that there may be no doubt as to what the raccoon is doing, the pellets of mud incident to its construction are distinctly carved out on the upper extension of the crawfish hole. The expression of cunning is exemplified in the general make up of the entire sculptured piece. The pipe is three and one-half inches



FIG. 15. Pipe in the Image of the Raccoon.

long and the platform one inch wide at either end, the stem end square, while the opposite end terminates in a graceful curve. The head markings are pronounced and the eyes are set with copper. In its entirety this pipe is the real masterpiece of the raccoon sculptures.

Fig. 16 is another pipe made in the image of the raccoon. It resembles the pipe just described as to general form, but the sculptor has not brought out the craftiness of expression displayed in the preceding specimen. The pipe is small and made of blue-gray Ohio pipestone. The platform has a decided curve,

and, is three inches long, seven-eighths of an inch wide at each end and one and one-fourth inches wide at the center. The head markings are very pronounced as are the markings on the tail.

Squier & Davis state that they found an effigy of the raccoon at the Mound City group, but give no illustration. The Blackmore Museum illustrates the head of an animal they are pleased to call the raccoon, but which is very likely the gray fox.

The bones of the raccoon (*Procyon lotor*) were very abundant at the Baum Village site, along Paint creek in Ross county, where thirty-five fragmentary skulls and one hundred



FIG. 16. Pipe in the Image of the Raccoon.

and twenty-seven parts of lower jaws were found. This animal seems to have been much sought for food, and its bones were made into ornaments and implements. At the Gartner village, six miles north of Chillicothe, abundant evidence of the use of this animal for food was found. In fact wherever animal bones are found in the old villages, those of the raccoon are very prominent.

#### GRAY WOLF EFFIGY PIPES.

The sculpture of the gray wolf is shown in Fig. 17. The primitive artist again has displayed his skill by depicting the

attitude the wolf assumes in viewing the habitation of the Indian, when well out of range of weapons. The pipe is made of gray Ohio pipestone, somewhat discolored with splotches of brown. The platform is gently curved, is one and one-fourth inches wide, three and one half inches long and square at both ends. The wolf is portrayed in a sitting posture, more than two and one-half inches high, the head and ears thrown intently forward, the tail lying upon the platform. In point of



FIG. 17. Pipe in the Effigy of the Gray Wolf.

spirit the sculpture is perhaps unsurpassed in the collection of pipes.

Fig. 18 shows another effigy of the gray wolf. The workmanship in this pipe is inferior in many ways to the one last described. Its general resemblance is more that of the bear, particularly about the head, and one would feel justified in so naming it, had not the artist appended the long tail. The pipe is made of dark-blue Ohio pipe-stone. The platform is grace-



fully curved, is one and one-eighth inches wide at the stem end, while the other end, originally in the form of an oval, had been slightly broken and mended by the owner. The stem hole connecting with the bowl of the pipe is unusually large, being almost one-fourth of an inch in diameter. The eyes of the animal are set with copper. Squier & Davis, in describing their finds at Mound City, figure a broken head of this animal, while a perfect restored specimen is shown in the catalog of the Black-



FIG. 18. Pipe in the Effigy of the Gray Wolf.

more Museum, which is similar in every respect to the pipe shown in Fig. 17.

The gray wolf, (*Canis occidentalis*) must have been very plentiful during the prehistoric occupation of the Scioto valley, as we find evidence of his presence in the bones taken both from the Gartner village and Baum village sites, altho not in large numbers. The large bones were broken into fragments, or used in the manufacture of implements, and the teeth for the most part were used for ornaments, even the molars and pre-molars having the roots perforated to be worn as ornaments.



## EFFIGY OF THE GRAY FOX.

The gray fox is shown in Fig. 19, a splendid sculpture of this animal. The pipe is made of blue-gray Ohio pipestone and is highly polished. The platform has a very slight curve, is four inches in length and one inch wide at the stem end, which is square. The platform widens from the front to the center, where its width is more than one and one-half inches, and gradually tapers toward the rear, forming a gracefully rounded end. The image of the fox rises from about the



FIG. 19. Pipe Representing the Gray Fox.

center of the platform and represents the animal in a sitting attitude, with head and body thrown forward and front feet touching the platform. The head has the characteristic markings of the gray fox and the ears are thrown forward as if intently viewing some object. The primitive artist certainly has portrayed the general form and features of the animal as well as its characteristic attitude and expression. The sculpture of the gray fox (*Urocyon virginianus*) has never before been reported, but its presence in Ohio during the time of pre-history man is evidenced by finding numerous bones of the animal at the Baum village site along Paint creek. Here the remains of the fox were perhaps as numerous as the bones of any animal

excepting the deer. At the Gartner Village site along the Scioto, the bones of the fox were found in large numbers.

EFFIGY OF THE INDIAN DOG.

The only representation of the dog coming from an Ohio mound, that could rightly be identified as such, is shown in Fig. 20. The primitive artist knew his subject well and was



FIG. 20. Pipe Representing the Indian Dog.

able to reproduce in stone the general form and features, as well as the characteristic attitude and expression of the dog, "baying at the moon." No other sculpture from the mounds is more pleasing and none tells so much of natural history as this sculpture of the only domesticated animal of primitive man in Ohio. The pipe is made of blue-gray Ohio pipestone and is well fashioned. The platform has a decided curve, and is two and three-fourths inches long and one and one-eighth inches wide at the stem end, gradually narrows from the center to the rear, where the top of the platform is concave, and ends in

a rounded oval. The bowl rises from the center of the platform and represents the dog in a sitting posture, the tail curled over the back and the head thrown high as in the attitude of barking. While, so far as we know, Fig. 20 shows the only authentic sculpture of the dog taken from the mounds of Ohio, the bones of the animal have been found, both at the Baum village site and at the Gartner village site. At the Baum site bones of the dog were found in every part of the village and his presence as a domesticated animal is shown by the gnawed ends of bones found in practically every refuse pit. At the Gartner mound and village, the bones of the dog were in evidence and instances of the gnawing of bones were abundant.

#### EFFIGY OF THE BLACK BEAR.

The sculpture of the black bear, (*Ursus americanus*) shown in Fig. 21 is perhaps the finest of the three bear pipes found. The pipe is made of dark-blue Ohio pipestone and is carved with much spirit and fidelity to nature. The platform is three and one-half inches long, flat on top and convex beneath. It is one inch wide at the stem end and carries this width almost to the opposite end, where it narrows to three-fourths of an inch, forming a symmetrically rounded end. The stem, directly



FIG. 21. Pipe in the Image of the Black Bear.



in front of the great paws of the bear, was broken while in use by the owner, and very ingeniously mended, by boring holes in each piece, inserting dowel pins and then placing around the stem a band of copper to hold the parts together. The eyes are set with pearls and the carving represents the animal with the mouth partly open, showing the teeth, of which the canines are especially emphasized. In the collection of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical society is a very large pipe carved in the image of the bear, drawing her cub toward her and showing her teeth in defiance of an enemy.



FIG. 22. Pipe in the Image of the Black Bear.

Fig. 22 shows another sculpture of the bear in a sitting posture which falls short of the one just described, the carving being cruder; however, the poise of the head is good. The eyes are set with copper. The platform is three and one-fourth inches long and one and one-eighth inches wide, square at the stem end and ending in a graceful curve at the rear. One ear of the animal was broken off, evidently during its use by the owner. The pipe is made of very light-gray pipestone, in places much discolored by dark brown splotches of iron.



Fig. 23 shows the third sculpture of the bear, which represents the animal standing at full length. While the general proportions are good, the sculpture has but little spirit, the work not being equal to the two others described. The pipe is made of dark-blue Ohio pipestone. The curved base is three and three-fourths inches long and one inch wide at the stem end, which is square. The opposite end of the platform is only three-fourths of an inch wide, with rounded corners.

Many pipes representing the bear have been found on the surface in Ohio, but we have record of only one other from a



FIG. 23. Pipe in the Image of the Black Bear.

mound, namely, that found by Squier & Davis in Mound No. 8 of Mound City group. Of this pipe they figure only the head, the other pieces having been lost.

It is known that the black bear was highly prized by the prehistory Indians of Ohio, for we find the bones of the animal in practically every village site examined. At the Baum site along Paint creek, they were in evidence in every section of the village, the same being true at the Gartner site, along the Scioto. The teeth and jaws of the bear were highly prized for ornament and they were very often made in imitation. In the cache associated with the pipes of this mound, cut bear jaws and imitation bear teeth were found in goodly numbers.

## MOUNTAIN LION EFFIGY PIPES.

Fig. 24 shows a pipe made in the image of the mountain lion, carved with much spirit and fidelity to nature, showing that the sculptor was a close observer of this animal. The lion is in a sitting position with the tail carved in relief on the rear of the finely curved platform, the body thrown forward, the short stout head at a poise showing contentment after partaking of a heavy repast, and the mouth partly open as in the act of grooming itself. The characteristic eye markings are plainly



FIG. 24. Pipe Representing the Mountain Lion.

shown. Taken as a whole this pipe is the finest of the three sculptures of the mountain lion. The specimen is made of light-gray Ohio pipestone, strongly discolored by brown splotches of iron. The platform has a gradual curve from end to end and is four inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide at the stem end, gradually tapering to the rear of the platform, where it ends in an oval.

Fig. 25 shows the second of the three sculptures of the mountain lion. It is quite evident from the difference in conception of the animal that the pipes were not fashioned by the

same sculptor. In the specimen shown in Fig. 24, the primitive artist depicted the general features and pose of the animal true to nature. In this specimen the legs and feet are greatly emphasized, making the lion appear a clumsy animal like the bear. The pipe is made of light red, shading to dark red, Ohio pipestone. The platform which is square at both ends, is seven-eighths of an inch wide, gradually tapering to the center, where it is one and one-fourth inches wide. The lion is sculptured at full length in a standing posture, with all four feet braced, as in the act of dragging an object. The mouth is partly open, exposing the teeth, and the ears are erect.

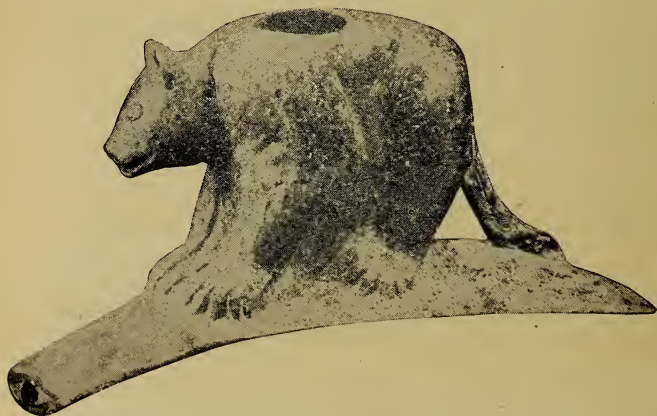


FIG. 25. Pipe Representing the Mountain Lion.

Fig. 26 shows the third sculpture of the mountain lion, which very likely represents the work of a third primitive artist, as the conception of the animal in this specimen is unlike either of the two previously described. Only the head of the animal is represented. The facial markings, eyes and whiskers are plainly exaggerated, and the ears are carved at a wrong angle, while the sculpture lacks spirit and truthfulness, yet the general features of the lion are readily recognized. The pipe is made of dark-gray Ohio pipestone, mottled with circular globules of white. The base is beautifully curved, square at both ends and one and one-eighth inches wide. The stem end was broken while in use, and the piece attached by means of



a band of copper, three-fourths of an inch wide, securely fastened around the stem.

The bones of the mountain lion (*Felis concolor*) were found at the Baum village site and at the Gartner mound and village site. At the former the bones of the animal were found sparingly in every part of the village. However, the mountain lion seems not to have been so abundant in the wilds of Ohio in early days as was the bear and wolf, or even the wild cat. The bones of the mountain lion were highly prized for implements, and the teeth and jaws were made into ornaments, not



FIG. 26. Pipe Representing the Mountain Lion.

only the canine teeth being used, but the molars and pre-molars as well.

As far as recorded the only sculpture of this animal, other than the Tremper mound finds, was taken from mound No. 8, Mound City group by Squier & Davis. They figure only the head of this effigy, but in the catalog of the Blackmore Museum it is shown fully restored.

#### WILD CAT EFFIGY PIPES.

Two sculptures of the wild cat (*Lynx rufa*) were found, both showing plainly the work of a master hand. The pipe



shown in Fig. 27 is made of dark-blue Ohio pipestone. The base, but slightly curved, is three inches long, one inch wide and square at each end, with the corners at the rear end rounded. The bowl of the pipe, rising directly from the center of the platform, represents the animal in a sitting posture, with its short tail cut in relief on the platform, its fore feet on the same plane with the body, and the head thrown forward in the attitude of contentment. The head is stout and short, with the color markings and whiskers very pronounced, and is somewhat enlarged and out of proportion to the body.

Fig. 28 shows the second sculpture of the wild cat. The pipe is made of dark blue-gray Ohio pipestone, stained to a very dark brown by iron, and is some larger than the pipe just described. The platform is three and one-half inches long, symmetrically curved from front to back, and square at each end. The animal is shown apparently crouched for a leap, but the reposeful attitude of the head seems to contradict this. The head markings are well executed and the whiskers somewhat emphasized.

Similar sculptures of the wild cat were found by Squier & Davis at the Mound City group, two of which they figure in their report. Comparing these with the Tremper mound specimens, especially as regards the heads, one would be led to believe that all were made by the same sculptor, so marked is the similarity.

In the prehistoric village sites at Baum's and Gartner's the wild cat's bones were found in abundance, thirty broken skulls and one hundred and twenty-five broken lower jaws being found in the former alone. The leg bones were used in making implements and ornaments and the canine teeth were perforated and used as ornaments.

#### EFFIGY OF THE PORCUPINE.

Fig. 29 shows the sculpture of the porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatus*). In this pipe the sculptor has fashioned the animal in a characteristic attitude, as seen at home in the woods. The head, with short bunty ears, is well sculptured, as is the thick heavy tail, with the spines plainly marked. The pipe is made



FIG. 27. Pipe in the Effigy of the Wild-Cat.



FIG. 28. Pipe in the Effigy of the Wild-Cat.

of red and light-gray mottled pipestone. The base is well curved, three and three-fourths inches long, three-fourths of an inch wide, square at the stem end and oval at the rear end.

As far as known this is the only sculpture of this animal from the mounds of Ohio. The geographical distribution of the Canadian porcupine in early days was along the Alleghanies, south through Pennsylvania into Virginia, west to Kentucky and north to the limit of trees in Canada; so that it certainly must have been well known to prehistoric man in the Scioto valley.

We have found the bones of the porcupine sparingly in the Baum Village site, a lower jaw and several small bones being



FIG. 29. Pipe Representing the Porcupine.

noted. Now that we have its sculpture and know that the Indian was acquainted with the animal, I am sure a careful search will bring to light more of its bones. However, it must be remembered that the Indian dog was very fond of bones, which may account for not finding many bones of some of the smaller animals.

#### EFFIGY OF THE OPOSSUM.

Fig. 30 is the sculpture of the Opossum (*Didelphys virginianus*). The sculptor has well portrayed the opossum and has shown something of its habits by picturing the animal inserting its foot into a hole in search of food. The seated pos-



ture is characteristic and the scaly tail is emphasized by criss-cross lines. The head, with its long nose and copper-set eyes, is well carved. The symmetrically curved platform is three and one-fourth inches long, one and one-half inches wide, square in front and ends in a graceful curve at the rear. The pipe is made of dark-gray Ohio pipestone.

The only other opossum effigy recorded, was taken from Mound No. 8, Mound City group, by Squier & Davis, who mention the animal in their list of sculptured pipes but do not



FIG. 30. Pipe Representing the Opossum.

figure it. The Blackmore Museum, which acquired the Mound City finds gives no cut of the opossum sculpture, probably being unable to restore the specimen. Consequently that shown in Fig. 30 is perhaps the only one of its kind in a perfect state taken from the mounds of Ohio.

The bones of the opossum were found in abundance at the Baum Village site along Paint Creek, and at the Gartner mound and village site along the Scioto. It is evident that this animal was much sought for food and that the upper canines,



which are unusually large, very long and gracefully curved, were highly prized for ornament.

#### EFFIGY OF THE BEAVER.

The beaver (*Castor canadensis*) shown in Fig. 31 is one of the best sculptured pipes taken from the cache of the Tremper mound. Other specimens of the beaver effigy pipes were found, made of a very low grade pipestone, so weathered that restoration was impossible. However, a beautiful effigy gorget, representing the beaver swimming in the water, was found in the cache.



FIG. 31. Pipe in the Effigy of the Beaver.

The effigy beaver shown in Fig. 31 represents the animal in a characteristic attitude, sitting on its tail. The primitive artist has brought out the proportions and the general form of the beaver, short between the fore and hind legs, broad, heavy and clumsy. The hind legs and feet, which furnish the propelling power for swimming, are well carved. The head markings, the bumpy ears and small eyes are characteristic of the beaver. The pipe is made of mottled yellow pipestone and is highly polished. The platform is three and one-fourth inches long and one and one-half inches wide.

Three beaver pipes were found by Squier & Davis in the Mound City group, Mound No. 8, one of which they describe

and figure, the Blackmore Museum catalog showing a cut of the same pipe. The Museum of the Ohio State Archeological & Historical Society has a very large perfect beaver pipe found in a mound in Fairfield county, Ohio, but this pipe was made by another culture of Indians and in no way compares to the sculpture of either the Tremper Mound effigies or those taken from the Mound City group.

The bones of the beaver were found in abundance at the Baum Village site and at the Gartner site, showing that this animal was used for food and that the incisor teeth were highly prized for ornament and for use as cutting tools. In the Museum of the Ohio State Archeological & Historical Society is displayed an implement made from the tine of a deer horn, with a large beaver incisor set at right angles to the horn, and evidently used as a cutting tool. The implement was taken from a mound at Portsmouth, only five miles from the Tremper mound.

EFFIGY OF THE DEER.

Fig. 32 is made in the image of the deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). This sculptured pipe is the only one of its kind known to have been taken from the mounds of Ohio. It represents only the head of the animal, but is a very spirited and faithful representation. The animal is shown with head up,



FIG. 32. Pipe in the Effigy of the Deer.

nostrils open, as if scenting an enemy, and ears thrown forward as if to catch sound of the intruder. The pipe is made of dark-blue pipestone and the platform, which is conspicuously curved, is three and one-fourth inches long, one inch wide and slightly concavo-convex from front to back. The stem is square and the opposite end rounded.

The deer was eagerly sought for as food by prehistory man, as is evidenced by finding its remains in the various village sites examined. At the Baum village site fully thirty-five per cent of all animal bones were of the deer, while at the Gartner site fully fifty per cent of the bones found were of this animal. The large and heavy bones of the deer were used in making implements. So extensive was their use that a perfect lower leg bone is rarely found.

#### EFFIGY OF THE MINK.

Fig. 33 shows one of the more interesting of the effigy pipes taken from the Tremper Mound, the effigy being that of the mink (*Putorius vison*). The sculpture shows the characteristically long body of the animal wrapped around the top of the bowl of the pipe, with the head facing the smoker. This sculpture of the mink is the only one known to have been found



FIG. 33. Pipe in the Effigy of the Mink.

in the mounds of Ohio. The pipe is made of dark blue-gray pipestone and the platform is regularly curved from end to end, slightly concave on top and decidedly convex beneath. The stem end, which is one and one-fourth inches wide, is square and the other end rounded. The mink was well known to the dwellers in both the Baum Village site and the Gartner Village site, its bones being everywhere in evidence.

EFFIGY OF THE RABBIT.

Fig. 34 is a good representation of the rabbit (*Lepus sylvaticus*). The primitive artist has fashioned the animal in a characteristic attitude, sitting with ears erect and the very large eyes prominently shown. Sculptures of the rabbit are



FIG. 34. Pipe in the Effigy of the Rabbit.

very uncommon. In the Shetrone collection of the Ohio State Archeological & Historical Society is a very large pipe in the image of the rabbit, found on the surface in Fairfield county, Ohio, but differing in culture from the pipes of the Tremper mound and the Mound City group. The bones of the rabbit were found at the Baum Village site and at the Gartner Vil-



lage site, showing that this little animal was highly prized for food. The bones, however, were seldom used in the making of implements.

#### SQUIRREL EFFIGY PIPES.

The gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*) was well known to prehistoric man, and in all the six sculptures found is portrayed in the familiar posture shown in Fig. 35. This pipe is spirited and admirably true to nature and perhaps the most



FIG. 35. Pipe in the Effigy of the Squirrel.

artistic of the squirrel effigies. It is made of light gray pipe-stone strongly marked with red, giving the specimen the appearance of marble. The platform is three and one-fourth inches long, flat on top, convex beneath, and regularly curved from front to back. The squirrel is carved around the bowl in an erect sitting posture, with the front feet held closely to the body, the head in the attitude of watchfulness and the bushy tail curled up over the back.

The second sculpture of the squirrel, shown in Fig. 36, closely resembles the one first described except that the hind



FIG. 36. Pipe in the Effigy of the Squirrel.

feet are not shown. These two specimens evidently are the work of the same artist, the minor details being the same and the stone from which they are cut very similar.

Fig. 37 represents another sculpture of the squirrel. A careful comparison with the other squirrel pipes shown, indicates the handiwork of a different artist. While the general pose is the same, the artistic conception of the animal is quite different, as is the fashioning of the tail and legs. The eyes are set with copper. The pipe is made of mottled yellow and dark pipestone. The base is regularly curved from front to back, is one inch wide and three and one-fourth inches long, flat on top and convex beneath. The remaining squirrel pipes are similar to those described and probably were made by the same sculptors.

Squier & Davis found the sculptured image of the squirrel in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, a cut of which is figured in the catalog of the Blackmore Museum. A careful study of the cut will convince one that the sculptor of the Mound City pipe had still a different conception of the squirrel; but his product differs no more from the individual sculptures of the

Tremper mound, than these latter do from one another. So far as known the squirrel pipes from the Tremper mound and the one from the Mound City group, are the only sculptures of the squirrel taken from the mounds of Ohio.

The skeletal remains of the squirrel are found in all the village sites examined. At the Baum and Gartner sites their bones were found in every part of the villages.



FIG. 37. Pipe in the Effigy of the Squirrel.

#### SCULPTURES OF THE TURTLE.

*Snapping Turtle* — Fig. 38 is a fine example of the sculpture of the snapping turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*). The turtle surmounts the bowl of the pipe, the opening of the bowl passing through the top of the shell. The markings of the shell are plainly indicated and the fore and hind legs, tail and head are well executed.

The pipe is made of yellow-brown pipestone, highly polished. The platform is well curved from front to back, three and one-half inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide, flat on top, convex beneath, and square at each end.





FIG. 38. Pipe in the Image of a Snapping Turtle.

Fig. 39, another carving of the snapping turtle, is the smallest pipe found in the Tremper mound. Another interesting feature of the pipe is that it has a double stem. However, the rear stem hole is closed by a bone, cut and well fitted to the hole for its entire length. The effigy of the turtle, like the one just described, forms the top of the bowl, and is well executed, though made from an inferior piece of pipe stone. The platform has a slight curve from front to back, is only two and one-half inches long, about one inch wide, flat on top and slightly convex on the bottom. The pipe is fashioned from a very dark pipestone.



FIG. 39. Pipe in the Image of a Snapping Turtle.



*Box Turtle* — Fig. 40 is a splendid example of the sculpture of the box turtle (*Cestudo virginea*). The specimen is made of light-red mottled pipestone. The platform is thickest along the median line from end to end and gradually tapers to the edges, forming a diamond shaped cross section. It is decidedly curved, four inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide and cut square at both ends. The turtle's shell, the markings of which are distinct, is partly open, exposing the head and feet.



FIG. 40. Pipe in the Image of the Box Turtle.

According to Squier & Davis, sculptures of the turtle were found in Mound No. 8, Mound City' group, but they do not figure the turtle in their report. In the catalog of the Blackmore Museum is a drawing of a turtle pipe, which closely resembles Fig. 37 of the Tremper Mound. The turtle seems to have been a favorite motive for pipes with many of the prehistoric tribes, but we have no record of a platform effigy turtle pipe being taken from a mound in Ohio, other than those from the Tremper Mound and the Mound City group. The bones of the turtle, especially those of the box turtle, are abundant in all the prehistoric village sites of Ohio so far examined. At the Baum village, the turtle was found in abundance. From

one subterranean storehouse alone fifty-nine carapaces of the box turtle, probably representing a great turtle feast, were removed.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE TOAD.

Fig. 41 shows a splendid conception of the common toad. Many of the prehistoric cultures sculptured the toad and the frog, but the pipes of the Tremper mound and Mound City group are unique in producing the toad in the platform type of pipe. Pipe No. 41 has a platform four and one-half inches



FIG. 41. Pipe Representing the Toad.

long, and one inch wide at each end, expanding in the center to one and one-half inches. It is liberally curved from front to back, flat on top and convex beneath, to accommodate the large stem hole. The sculptor's conception of the toad is extremely good as far as general appearance and proportions are concerned, although some features of it might be considered exaggerated and others dwarfed.

Squier & Davis found in Mound No. 8 a sculptured toad, which is figured in their reports and in the catalog of the Blackmore Museum; but the one shown in Fig. 41 is very much superior in general execution. Many prehistoric tribes in Ohio sculptured the toad and examples may be found in the museum of the Society, but all are roughly carved and represent an entirely different culture from the Hopewell.

## BIRD EFFIGY PIPES.

The bowls of many of the pipes from the Tremper Mound are carved with admirable skill into figures of birds of various kinds. As a whole these bird sculptures are fairly true to nature, many of them having the features and feather markings faithfully represented, while in some even the individual habits and peculiarities are portrayed.

More than twelve genera of birds have been recognized, and in one instance — the owls — six individual specimens, representing at least five species were found. Among the birds identified are the kingfisher, heron, sandhill crane, crow, paroquet, eagle, hawk, owl, quail and a song bird. I will describe at some length the bird sculptures found in the Tremper mound and compare them with those taken by Squier & Davis from Mound No. 8, Mound City group.

## SCULPTURE OF THE EAGLE.

Fig. 42 is a fine representation of the eagle, carved out of coral limestone. The specimen is the largest bird in the lot, and the boldest as to sculptured treatment, tho now much weathered. The platform is four and three-fourths inches long but measures five and one-half inches around the curve from front to back. The cut fully illustrates this curve. The platform is one inch wide at each end, expanding to two inches at the center, the stem end being square and the rear end rounded. The platform is flat on top and decidedly convex beneath. The bowl rises from the summit of the curved platform, and around its top is carved the image of the eagle. The large beak, the heavy strong wings and the long tail of the bird are faithfully portrayed, but no feet or talons are shown. Several other carvings of the eagle were made from the same stone, but these were weathered so badly that their restoration was impossible. The bald eagle (*Haliaetus leucocephalus*) was known to the prehistory inhabitants of the Baum village site and at the Gartner village site, where their bones were found sparingly. The claws were used as ornaments and the large wing bones were made into implements or ornaments.





FIG. 42. Pipe in the Effigy of the Eagle.



A pipe fashioned in the image of the eagle was taken from mound No. 8, Mound City group, but only the head is figured, the remainder of the pipe evidently not having been secured. The catalog of the Blackmore Museum figures this head and says "Fig. 59 is the fragment of a pipe which represents a bird of prey, either an eagle or a hawk."

#### EFFIGIES OF THE HAWK.

The hawk seems to have greatly interested primitive man, as he made many sculptures thereof, representing several species. The general form of the hawk and eagle is the same, and perhaps the only distinction between them, as made by primitive man, was that of size.

One of the best of the hawk sculptures is shown in Fig. 43. The pipe is made of brown pipestone, the stem four and one-half inches long, one and one-half inches broad at each end and gracefully curved from front to back. The legs and feet of the bird are faintly carved, but the body, which forms the top of the bowl, is boldly executed. The eyes evidently had been set with pearls but these were lost. The feather markings on the body and head are very pronounced and the general pose of the bird is not excelled in any of the carvings.



FIG. 43. Pipe in the Effigy of the Hawk.

The pipe shown in Fig. 44 is unusually well carved and represents the hawk in the attitude of viewing its surroundings. The pipe is made of gray pipestone somewhat discolored by the salts of iron. The platform is a little more than three and one-half inches long, one and one-half inches wide, and regularly concave beneath. The feet and talons are well carved and somewhat emphasized. The color markings on the head are very distinct and the eyes are set with copper. The feather



FIG. 44. Pipe in the Effigy of the Hawk.

markings of the wings and back are carved very true to nature. This pipe was found in the second cache two and one-half feet above the floor of the mound.

Fig. 45 is a splendid illustration of the sculpture of the hawk. The specimen is complete with the exception of the right foot, and is the only sculptured piece having the effigy carved at right angles to the stem, as in all other sculptures the effigy faces the smoker and is parallel with the stem. This specimen shows the skillful method of the owner of mending the pipe, the bowl of which had been broken off near the stem while in use. Small holes were drilled contiguously into the

fractured edges, and dowel pins then inserted to unite the parts. The platform of the pipe is but slightly curved and measures three inches in length and a little more than one inch wide. It is flat beneath, which is quite unusual in the effigy pipes, and convex on top. The work of the artist, in bringing out the feather markings of the bird, is unusually good. The eyes are set with pearls.

Squier & Davis found in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, the figure of the otter set at right angles to the stem, which



FIG. 45. Pipe in the Effigy of the Hawk.

is the only known specimen other than the Tremper mound hawk pipe, having the effigy placed crosswise of the platform.

Several other specimens of the hawk were found in the larger cache, but these were made of an inferior quality of pipe-stone, so badly weathered that restoration was impossible. Squier & Davis found a splendid example of the hawk effigy in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, the general appearance of which, according to their drawing, would indicate the same species of hawk as shown in Fig. 44 of the Tremper mound, although differing in posture. The Squier & Davis hawk is shown devouring a small bird held in its talons. Unfortunately



a part of the stem of this pipe was not found, but at the Blackmore Museum it was fully restored, and a cut thereof shown in Fig. 60 of their catalog.

Sculptured pipes of the hawk are very rare in Ohio especially in the platform type, the only ones recorded being those from Mound City and the Tremper Mound. No record of the finding of the bones of the hawk at the Baum village was made at the time the report was published, but a closer examination of the skeletal remains in the laboratory disclosed quite a number of the bones of the species *Buteo borealis*, or common red-shouldered hawk. Prehistoric man doubtless would find the hawk, like the eagle, very difficult to capture and consequently its bones would be sparingly found; moreover, most of the bones would be made into ornaments or implements, and on account of their small size, the domesticated dog would devour many of the remainder.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE PAROQUET.

Fig. 46 is a very good sculpture of the Carolina paroquet, which no doubt attracted aboriginal man of the Scioto valley, where it formerly was common, but is now extinct. The sculp-

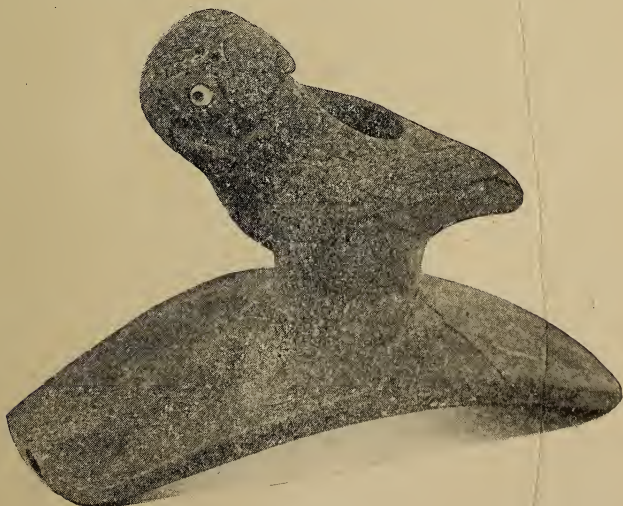


FIG. 46. Pipe in the Effigy of the Paroquet.



ture shown is a fine conception of this beautiful bird. The artist fully portrays its keen eyes by a setting of pearls, and the head and body markings are well executed. Its head is turned upward, showing the inquisitive character of the bird. The stem, which is gracefully curved, and the tail, were slightly broken and repaired by the owner. The paroquet was found also by Squier & Davis in Mound No. 8, Mound City group. They state that the paroquet is sometimes seen fifty miles above the mouth of the Scioto (1846), and we have a very authentic record\* made by Dr. William S. Sullivant, in July, 1862, of a boisterous flock of paroquets, numbering twenty-five or thirty individuals, in the elms of the Capitol Square, Columbus.

#### OWL EFFIGY PIPES.

Pipes made in the image of the owl were found in larger numbers than that of any other of the birds, five species being represented in a total of six specimens. The great horned owl (*Bubo virginianus*) particularly seems to have attracted the attention of the primitive sculptors, this species being represented by two pipes, the conceptions of two individual artists.

*Great Horned Owl.*—Fig. 47 shows the larger of the two horned owl pipes. It is made of light yellow-gray pipestone. The platform is four and one-half inches long and a little less than one inch wide at each end, expanding at the center, where it is more than one and one-half inches wide. It is decidedly convex beneath, with a central ridge extending from front to back, while its upper surface also is convex, thus making a cross section of the stem diamond shaped. The bowl of this pipe is unusually large and the opening is directly on top of the head.

While this specimen in many respects shows a good conception of the great horned owl, the pipe shown in Fig. 48 is the most elaborately carved of the image pipes. The photograph as shown in Fig. 48 does not do justice to the detailed markings of the specimen. The head, very carefully executed, is thrown forward, the orifice of the bowl being at the shoulders

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\* The Birds of Ohio, by Dawson; page 371.



FIG. 47. Pipe in the Image of the Great Horned Owl.



FIG. 48. Pipe in the Image of the Great Horned Owl.

and neck of the bird. The pipe is made of dark gray pipestone, and the platform is three and one-half inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide, flat on top, convex beneath and squared at each end. The artist's conception is well rendered, both as to general proportions and varied details of finish.

*The Barred Owl.* (*Syrnium varium*) shown in Fig. 49 is a faithful representation of the hoot-owl, as this species is popularly known. In this specimen the primitive artist has



FIG. 49. Pipe in the Image of the Barred Owl.

brought out the habits and appearance of the owl, by sculpturing the bird as facing to the rear, and emphasizing its eyes by the insertion of large pearls. The feather markings, especially in the wings and tail, are very prominent. The platform, which is unusually large, is four and one-half inches long and one and one-fourth inches wide at each end. The front or stem end is squared while the rear end is oval. The pipe is made of light gray pipestone slightly stained with iron.

*American Long-eared Owl.*—A spirited sculpture of the American long-eared owl (*Asis wilsonianus*) is shown in Fig.



50. In this specimen, the artist has successfully portrayed certain characteristic marks, such as size and leg markings, and the long horns extending back over the head. The feather markings on wings and back are executed with skill. The pipe is small and made of gray pipestone mottled with red. The platform is three and one-fourth inches long and three-fourths of an inch wide, finely curved from end to end, flat on top and convex beneath. The base is squared at each end.



FIG. 50. Pipe in the Image of the American Long-Eared Owl.

*Saw-whet Owl.*—Fig. 51 is a very good sculpture of the saw-whet owl (*Myctale acadica*). This little owl has no ear tufts, and is readily distinguished from the screech owl by this characteristic. This pipe was broken by the owner, and mended by a band of copper fully covering the entire stem end of the platform. The eyes are emphasized by the insertion of pearls. The pipe is made of light yellow-gray pipestone. The platform is only two and three-fourths inches long, square at the stem end and oval at the rear. The base is flat above and curved below.

*Screech Owl.*—Fig. 52 shows the sculpture of the screech owl (*Megascaro asis*). The appearance of this bird is well





FIG. 51. Pipe in the Image of the Saw-Whet Owl.



FIG. 52. Pipe in the Image of the Screech Owl.

portrayed, with the exception of the ear tufts, which are precluded by the opening of the bowl of the pipe, occupying the entire top of the head. However, the general features of the species are well marked. The platform is well curved from front to back and is three and one-fourth inches long by one and one-fourth inches wide, with the usual convex form beneath. The stem end of the base is squared and the rear end rounded.

Squier & Davis in their account of the exploration of the Mound City group mention the owl as one of the sculptures taken from this group, but give no cut thereof. In the catalog of the Blackmore museum a pipe is shown in Fig. 57, which I infer, from the general pose and appearance, represents the little saw-whet owl. The owl seems to have been a favorite with many of the aboriginal tribes, as many owl pipes have been found on the surface and in mounds, but belonging to cultures differing from those represented in the Tremper mound and at Mound City. Those from the Tremper mound stand alone, when artistic conception and execution are taken into consideration. The bones of the great horned owl and the barred owl were found at the Baum village site and also at the Gartner site. They are never abundant in the villages because, for the most part, they were manufactured into ornaments and implements.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE GREAT BLUE HERON.

The great blue heron shown in Fig. 53 is one of the finest of the bird sculptures. The bird, with its small body, long wings, neck and legs, is represented in the act of eating a fish. The artist's work is excellent, both as to conception of the bird and its habits, and in the faithful and delicate execution thereof. As a work of art it is the equal of any of the sculptures taken from the mounds of Ohio. The pipe is made of dark gray pipestone. The platform is strongly curved from front to back, flat on top and convex beneath, square at each end, with rounded corners, and is three and one-half inches long and one and one-fourth inches wide.

This specimen and a similar one found by Squier and Davis in Mound No. 8, Mound City group and illustrated in

their report, are the only ones of the kind found in the mounds of Ohio. No feather markings, and only the outlines of the wings and tail, are shown in the Mound City pipes. The platform is but slightly curved and like the specimen from the Tremper mound, square at each end. In the catalog of the Blackmore Museum a drawing of this specimen shows the plat-



FIG. 53. Pipe in the Effigy of the Great Blue Heron.

form as straight and the stem end squared, but the rear end is shown as an oval. Bones of the great blue heron were found sparingly at the Baum village site. These consisted of the ends of long bones, which had been cut and utilized for ornaments.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE SAND-HILL CRANE.

The only sculpture of the sand-hill crane taken from the mounds of Ohio is shown in Fig. 54. Like the great blue heron, just described, this sculpture of the crane stands alone in its class. The artist's conception is well portrayed in the splendid feather markings of the wings and tail, in the long neck and head, and in showing the habit of the bird in using its strong bill for digging in the earth in search of food.

A unique feature of this pipe is the red crest on the head of the bird, painted at the time it was made, and retaining its color unfaded. The keen eyes of the bird are set with copper and its whole appearance is pleasing and true to nature. The pipe is made of dark gray pipestone. The platform is gracefully curved from front to back and is three and three-fourths



FIG. 54. Pipe in the Effigy of the Sandhill Crane.

inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide and square at each end.

The skeletal remains of the sand-hill crane were not recorded at the Baum village or at the Gartner village, but a later examination of the cut ends of leg bones taken from the latter site, fully identified the bird as being present in this village. However, the bones of such birds as the crane and blue heron were well adapted for use as ornaments and implements, and therefore seldom are found in a perfect state, being usually worked into artifacts.



## WILD DUCK EFFIGY PIPES.

*Wood Duck.*—An effigy of the wood duck is shown in Fig. 55, a notable example of primitive sculpture. One cannot wonder that early man was attracted to the wood duck, for few more beautiful birds are found. The head only of this bird is represented, on which are well defined the prominent crest and the color markings, while the eyes are emphasized by the insertion of copper. The pipe is made of dark blue pipestone. The platform, which is slightly curved from front to back, is three and one-fourth inches long and one inch wide, flat on top



FIG. 55. Pipe in the Effigy of the Wood Duck.

and convex beneath. Squier & Davis found in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, a pipe similar in many respects to this one, but inferior in form and finish, as will be seen by reference to their cut.

*Bufflehead.*—Fig. 56 is a very good example of the butter ball, as this duck is often popularly called. I feel sure that a characteristic peculiar to this duck must have strongly impressed primitive man; namely, that while swimming on the water, it has the appearance of floating in the air. This illusion is due to the white breast and sides, intervening between the

black upper parts of the bird and the water line below. The pipe is made of dark gray pipestone and the platform is three and one-half inches long and one inch wide. It is regularly curved from front to back, flat on top, convex beneath, the front end square and the back end oval.

Bones of the two ducks described were not found at the Baum village site, but the mallard, pintail and canvas-back were identified.



FIG. 56. Pipe in the Effigy of the Bufflehead Duck.

#### SCULPTURE OF THE QUAIL.

The effigy of the bobwhite is shown in Fig. 57, and as far as known is the only one taken from the mounds of Ohio. The pipe is made of dark brown pipestone, highly polished. The platform is three inches long and one inch wide, the front concavo-convex and the rear flat on top and convex beneath. The pipe had been broken by the owner and repaired by placing a heavy band of copper around the bowl, as shown in the photograph. The conception of the primitive artist is well brought out in the general pose and feather markings of this sculpture, which might be considered one of the most spirited and skillfully carved of the effigies. The bones of the quail have not been recorded as found in any of the prehistoric village sites



FIG. 57. Pipe in the Effigy of the Bob-White.

in Ohio, they doubtless, like other bones of small size, mostly having been eaten by the Indian dog.

#### EFFIGY OF THE KINGFISHER.

Fig. 58 shows a pipe in the image of the kingfisher. The pipe is carved from dark brown pipestone, the platform being three inches long and one inch wide, and gradually curved from front to back. The long bill, crested head and feather markings illustrate fully the primitive artist's conception of this bird. The eyes are set with pearls. This sculpture of the kingfisher is perhaps the only known specimen taken from the mounds of Ohio.

#### EFFIGY OF THE BLUE JAY.

The image of the blue jay is shown in Fig. 59. The artist's conception is not as good as in the kingfisher and bobwhite. The eyes no doubt were set with pearls, which were lost. The pipe is made of reddish brown pipestone, the platform three and one-fourth inches long, one inch wide, and curved gradually from end to end. No other account of the sculpture of the blue jay is recorded as coming from the mounds of Ohio.





FIG. 58. Pipe in the Effigy of the Kingfisher.



FIG. 59. Pipe in the Effigy of the Bluejay.



## SCULPTURE OF THE AMERICAN CROW.

The crow is shown in Fig. 60. Like the pipe just described, the head only is shown, the artist having somewhat emphasized the bill. The eye sockets are cut through into the opening of the bowl. A similar pipe was found by Squier



FIG. 60. Pipe in the Image of the American Crow.

& Davis in Mound No. 8, Mound City group, which they figure and describe. The same is figured in the catalog of the Blackmore Museum. So far as known, this pipe and the one from the Tremper Mound are the only effigies of the American crow taken from the mounds of Ohio.

## EFFIGY OF A SONG BIRD.

Fig. 61 no doubt represents some species of song bird. The wing markings are well executed but the weathered condition of the pipe makes it impossible to determine the kind of bird intended. The pipe certainly was highly prized, as the bowl, which had been broken off, was mended at considerable trouble, by drilling holes and inserting dowel pins, as can be seen in the picture.

Many more sculptures of birds of various kinds were taken from this mound, as shown by the fragments of broken pipes made from an inferior quality of pipestone, too badly disintegrated to restore.



FIG. 61. Pipe in the Effigy of a Song Bird.

#### PLAIN PLATFORM PIPES.

The plain platform pipes taken from the Tremper Mound are very interesting. They were associated with the effigy pipes, and as far as the platform is concerned are, with the exception of the several specimens made of red pipestone, exactly like them. These latter, while of the platform type, have the bowls much larger and display a greater variation in curve of stem, some being practically straight, some slightly curved and others extremely curved. The small plain platform type resembles the effigy pipes in every way, except that the bowls are usually plain. Various forms of the plain pipes are shown in Figs. 62 to 76, inclusive; and these may be considered as representative of all the pipes of this type found.

Fig. 62 shows the first pipe taken from the mound and the first specimen of the several hundred comprising the main cache.

- It is made of dark brown pipestone, with a platform three inches long and two inches wide. The bowl is enlarged at the base, then contracted to near the top, where it is again enlarged and symmetrically formed. This specimen is one of the more interesting of the plain pipes.



FIG. 62. Platform Pipe. The First Pipe Removed from the Mound.

Fig. 63 is a beautiful pipe made of light gray pipestone, varied by dark red splotches. The platform is gracefully curved from end to end, is three inches long and one inch wide. The pipe is unique, in that the base of the bowl is embellished with four leaf-shaped or petaloid bosses carved in relief around its circumference.



FIG. 63. Platform Pipe Made of Gray Pipestone.



Fig. 64 is one of the more striking pipes of the plain type. The base is greatly curved, concavo-convex and squared in front, where it is one and one-fourth inches wide. This platform is



FIG. 64. Platform Pipe with Concavo-Convex Stem.

enlarged gradually to the center, where the width is two inches, and terminates in a perfect oval in the rear. The bowl is cylindrical in form with an enlarged base and top.

Fig. 65 is a pipe made of light brown pipestone. The platform is symmetrically curved, squared at each end, four inches long and one inch wide at the ends, gradually expanding to one and three-fourths inches at the center, where the curve assumes the form of an angle. The bowl, rising from the center of the curved platform, is very symmetrical with enlarged top and base.

Fig. 66 shows a pipe made of very dark reddish-brown pipestone. The platform is three and one-half inches long and one and one-half inches wide, concavo-convex, curving gradually from end to end. The bowl is cylindrical, with enlarged top and base.





FIG. 65. Platform Pipe Made of Light Brown Pipestone.



FIG. 66. Platform Pipe Made of Reddish Brown Pipestone.

Fig. 67 is a very symmetrical and beautiful pipe made of drab pipestone, mottled with dark brown. The platform is three and one-eighth inches long, three-fourths of an inch wide and square at each end. The bowl has enlarged base and top.



FIG. 67. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Red Pipestone.

Fig. 68 is a showy pipe of very light buff-colored pipestone, with pronounced splotches of dark brownish red. The pipe is unusually large for this type and the platform is slightly concavo-convex with bowl enlarged at the base and top.



FIG. 68. Platform Pipe Made of Buff Colored Pipestone.

Fig. 69 shows a fine example of plain platform pipe. It is made from very dark brownish-yellow pipestone. The platform is three and one-half inches long, square at each end and concavo-convex in cross section. The bowl is unusually long, enlarged at the base and top.



FIG. 69. Platform Pipe Made of Brownish Yellow Pipestone.

Fig. 70 shows a very impressive pipe made of dark gray pipestone. The platform is convex on both top and bottom.



FIG. 70. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Gray Pipestone.



square at each end and has a very symmetrical curve. The bowl is very unusual, being smallest at the base, where it is embellished with two rings, encircling it in relief. Above the rings the bowl gradually enlarges to the top, giving it the form of a funnel.

Fig. 71 shows another pipe of special interest. It is made of dark gray pipestone, the stem, which is concavo-convex, being three inches long and one and one-fourth inches wide, squared at both ends. The bowl is enlarged at the top, but not at the base.



FIG. 71. Platform Pipe with Concavo-Convex Stem, Made of Dark Gray Pipestone.

Fig. 72 is a very unique pipe having two stems. It is made of light gray pipestone, the platform being three inches long, flat on top, decidedly convex beneath and square at each end. Two stem holes lead to the bowl of the pipe, one from each end of the platform. The bowl has an enlarged base, while its top is not enlarged, in this respect differing from most of the pipes of the plain type.

Fig. 73 is remarkable as an example of an extremely curved platform, which is three and one-fourth inches long, with square ends, convex beneath and flat on top. The bowl is enlarged at the base and top.





FIG. 72. Platform Pipe Made of Light Gray Pipestone.



FIG. 73. Platform Pipe with Extreme Curve.

Fig. 74 shows a very interesting diamond-shaped platform, which is three inches long, gradually tapering to each end, where it is only three-fourths of an inch across. The bowl is about the same size from its opening on top to near the base, where it is greatly enlarged.

Fig. 75 is a very interesting pipe with short, highly curved platform, two and three-fourths inches long, having square ends and being convex above and beneath. The bowl is enlarged at the top and base.



FIG. 74. Platform Pipe, Diamond-Shaped Stem.



FIG. 75. Platform Pipe, Highly Curved Stem.

Fig. 76 is a typical pipe with a curved platform, three and one-half inches long, slightly concavo-convex and square at each end. The bowl is enlarged at the top and base.



FIG. 76. Platform Pipe with Concavo-Convex Stem.

#### PLAIN PIPES OF RED PIPESTONE.

The pipes shown in Figs. 77 to 86, inclusive, are made of red pipestone. They differ somewhat in size from the plain pipes just described, being mostly much larger, and all have large bowls. Of the platforms, some are straight and some slightly curved, while one is greatly curved.

Fig. 77 shows the finest and largest pipe taken from the mound. This pipe was taken from the second cache, in a perfect condition. The platform is seven and three-fourths inches long, and slightly curved from front to back, where it is one and three-fourths inches wide, flat on the bottom and slightly convex on top. The stem end of the pipe is one and one-fourth inches wide, flat on the bottom and greatly convex on top, to accommodate the stem hole. The bowl of the pipe is exceptionally large, rising five and one-half inches above the platform. The body of the bowl at the base is a little over one inch in diameter, gradually diminishing to within one inch of the top, where it





FIG. 77. Platform Pipe—the Largest Pipe Taken from the Cache.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

expands, forming a rim with a diameter of one and three-eighths inches. The diameter of the opening of the bowl is seven-eighths of an inch.

Fig. 78 shows another very large and beautiful pipe, taken from the second cache in the mound. This pipe is made of very light red pipestone, streaked with dark red. The platform is eight and one-fourth inches long, gradually curved from front to back, where the stem is one and one-half inches wide and cut square. The platform is decorated with notches, about one-eighth of an inch apart, around its edges, with the exception of the front of the stem, which is contracted to three-fourths of an inch in width. The stem end at the opening is slightly convex beneath and greatly convex above, this proportion being continued to the bowl of the pipe. The bowl which is four and one-





FIG. 78. Platform Pipe—the Next Largest Pipe Taken from the Cache.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

half inches high, measures in circumference as follows: At the base, three and one-fourth inches; at two inches above the base, three and three-fourths inches; within one-fourth of an inch of the top, three inches, and at the top three and one-half inches, the same as at the base.

Fig. 79 shows a pipe of remarkable beauty and symmetry, made of light red pipestone, with a streak of dark red running thru the specimen in its longest diameter. The platform is slightly curved from front to back, and is a little more than six inches long, being three-fourths of an inch wide in front, one and one-fourth inches wide at the rear end, flat beneath and convex on top. The bowl is three and one-half inches long, with a circumference of three and one-half inches near the base, where a cross section is oval. At the center, the circumference is four inches, decreasing to three and three-fourths inches within one-half inch of the top, while the top is enlarged to four and one-fourth inches in circumference. The diameter of the opening of the bowl is seven-eighths of an inch.



FIG. 79. Platform Pipe Made of Light Red Pipestone.  $\frac{1}{3}$ .



FIG. 80. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Red Pipestone.  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

Fig. 80 shows a well proportioned symmetrical pipe, made of dark red pipestone variegated with small oval blotches of light red. The stem is six and one-fourth inches long, well curved, and one and one-fourth inches wide at the ends, which are square. The stem in cross section is convex above and below. The bowl is four inches high with a base circumference of three and one-fourth inches. At the middle of the bowl the circumference is three and three-fourths inches; near the top, three and one-fourth inches, and at the top four inches. The diameter of the opening of the bowl is three-fourths of an inch.

Fig. 81 shows a splendid pipe of dark red pipestone, with an unusually long stem. The platform is six and seven-eighths



FIG. 81. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Red Pipestone.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide, squares at each end and flat beneath, with practically no curve from end to end. The stem end is convex above. The bowl of the pipe is two and one-half inches high, with practically the same diameter thruout its length, the top being three inches in circumference. The diameter of the opening of the bowl is five-eighths of an inch.

Fig. 82 shows a very fine pipe made of dark red pipestone, streaked with light red. The platform, which is perfectly straight, is five inches long, one and one-half inches wide at the rear end, gradually tapering to the front, where the stem is a little less than one inch wide. The top of the stem is convex. The bowl of



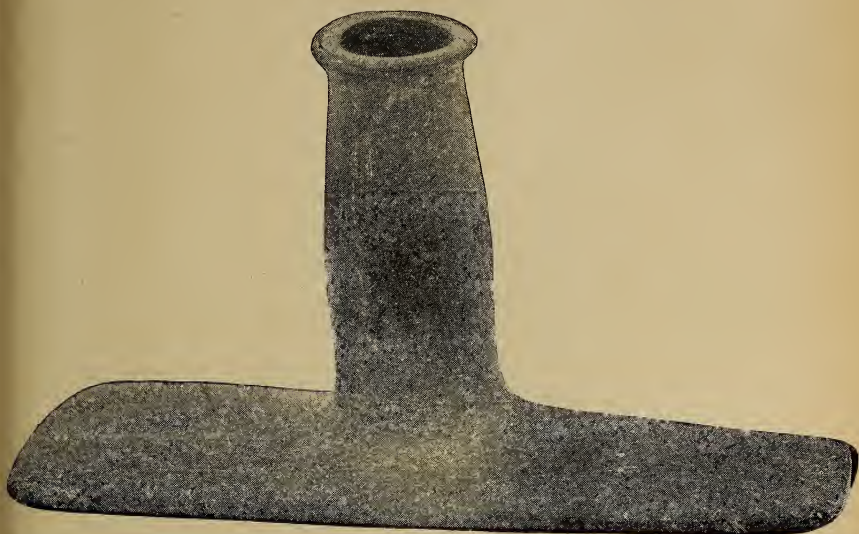


FIG. 82. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Red Pipestone.  $\frac{1}{3}$ .



FIG. 83. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Red Pipestone. Decorated.  $\frac{1}{3}$ .



the pipe is two and three-fourths inches high, oval at the base, enlarged at the center, with the opening of the bowl a little more than five-eighths of an inch in diameter.

Fig. 83 shows a very wide-stemmed pipe, made of dark red pipestone. The platform is flat, five and one-half inches long and one and one-half inches wide at the rear end, gradually tapering to the front of the stem, where it is only one-half inch wide. The stem is strongly convex on top to accommodate the stem hole. On top of the platform at the rear is incised a heart-shaped design, and directly below it four small pear-shaped decorations, the five figures being elaborated with criss-cross



FIG. 84. Platform Pipe Made of Dark Red Pipestone.

lines. The bowl is small, only one and three-fourths inches high, with the same diameter thruout. The top is greatly enlarged having a diameter of one and one-fourth inches, the bowl opening being five-eighths of an inch across.

Fig. 84 shows a very symmetrical pipe made of dark red pipestone. The platform is four and one-half inches long and one inch wide at the rear gradually tapering to the front or stem end, where the width is five-eighths of an inch. The platform is slightly curved and is diamond-shaped on cross section. The bowl is one and one-half inches high and is practically the same



FIG. 85. Platform Pipe Decorated With Zigzag Lines.

diameter thruout its length. The diameter of the opening of the bowl is five-eighths of an inch.

Fig. 85 is one of the more symmetrical of the pipes made of red pipestone. The pipe is decorated with incised zigzag lines, which on the bowl are vertical from top to base. On the platform top the lines run at right angles to its length, while beneath they are similarly placed on one-half of the platform, and parallel to it on the other half. The platform is gracefully curved from end to end, square at each end, flat on top and convex beneath. The bowl is two and one-half inches high, its greatest diameter being at the base, with a gradually expanded top. The bowl opening has a diameter of five-eighths of an inch.

Fig. 86 is one of the most beautiful and symmetrical of the pipes taken from the Tremper mound. It is made of light red pipestone. The platform is slightly concavo-convex, square in front and circular in the rear, five and one-fourth inches long on a straight line, but following the curve, six inches. The bowl



FIG. 86. Platform Pipe, Highly Curved.  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

is two inches high, very large at the base and gradually tapering to the top, where it is abruptly enlarged to a diameter of more than one inch. The opening in the bowl is five-eighths of an inch across.

#### TUBULAR TYPE OF PIPES.

Three pipes of the tubular form were found in cache No. 2. These are shown in Figs. 87, 88 and 89, and differ greatly from the pipes of the platform type.

Fig. 87 shows the largest of the plain tube pipes, which measures nine and one-fourth inches in length, and four inches in circumference at the center. The pipe is made of light gray pipestone, mottled with brown, blue, black and yellow. The diameter of the opening of the bowl is one inch, this being retained for six inches of the length of the bowl, which then gradually diminishes until at the stem opening it is three-eighths of an inch.

Fig. 88 shows the other plain tubular form. The pipe is





FIG. 87. Large Tube Pipe, Nine and One-fourth Inches Long.

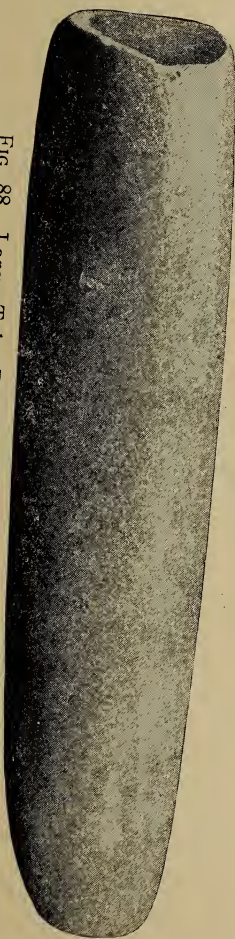


FIG. 88. Large Tube Pipe, Seven and One-half Inches Long.



made of light gray pipestone, is seven and one-half inches long and five inches in circumference at the center of the tube. The opening of the bowl is one and one-eighth inches in diameter this measurement being retained thruout almost the length of the tube. The stem hole is one-fourth of an inch in diameter.

Fig. 89 is one of the more interesting of the pipes taken from the Tremper mound and might be termed a modified tubular form. This form, with a short stem set at right angles to the long bowl, has been met with frequently in the Scioto valley, especially in Franklin county. In the collection of Mr. George F. Bareis, now in the Museum, is a pipe taken from a mound near Canal Winchester, Ohio, similar in every respect to the Tremper mound pipe. In the collection of Mr. M. E. Thrailkill, in the Museum, is another pipe, from a small mound along Big Darby creek in Franklin County, similar to the two above described. The Museum has several found on the surface along the Scioto river in Pickaway county.

The presence in the Tremper mound of a pipe of the modified tubular form—the first of this type, so far as known, to be found in a mound of the Hopewell culture — is an interesting example of the occasional possession by one culture of artifacts peculiarly pertinent to another culture. As has been shown, the modified tube form of pipe is widely distributed, but apparently peculiar to the Fort Ancient culture; it is interesting also to note that almost without exception they are made of fine grained sandstone, and both in material and form so similar as to suggest their being the product of a single artisan.

The tubular form proper of pipe also might be considered a Fort Ancient type, although not so certainly as the modified tube type, as it has been found to some extent in the Adena mound and other mounds of the Hopewell culture, aside from the fine specimens taken from the Tremper mound. The explanation, of course, of the finding of types of one culture in the mounds of another, is the inter-tribal commerce, or exchange of commodities, which existed between contemporaneous peoples living contiguously.

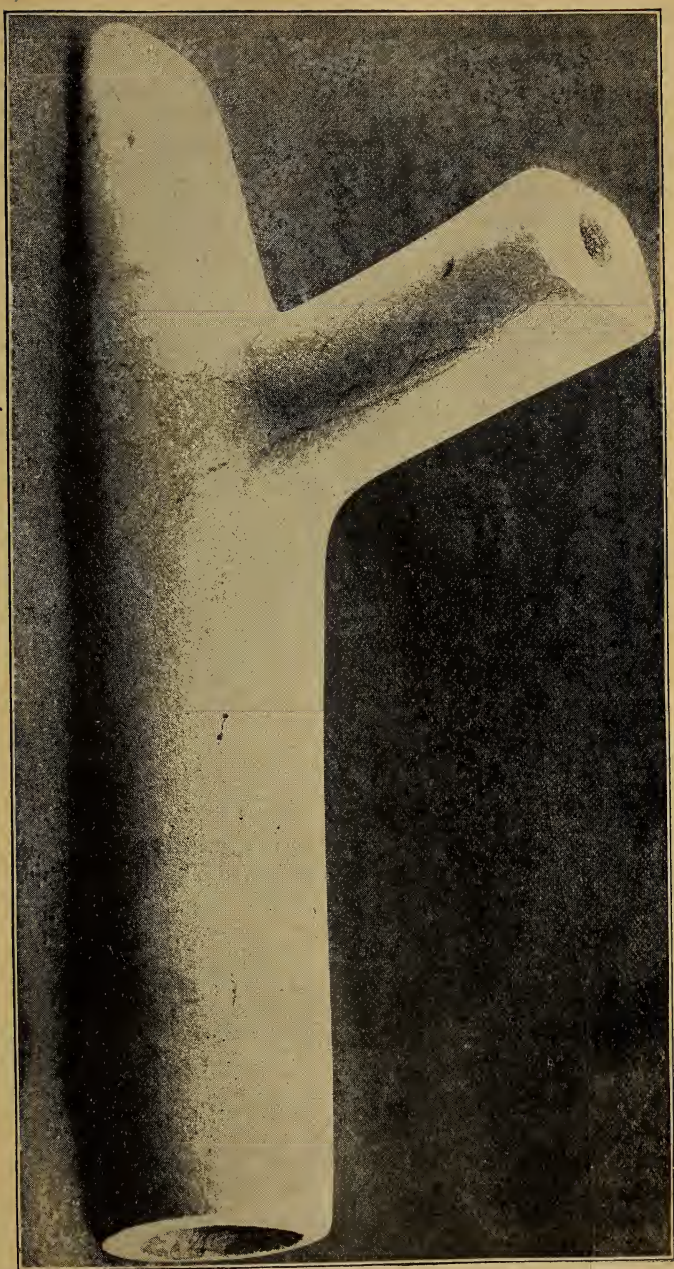


Fig. 89. Modified Tube Pipe. 3.

## MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS.

Associated with the pipes described were a number of very interesting ornaments made of stone, bone, copper and other materials. Of these the boat-shaped and cone-shaped objects of stone and copper are of particular interest.

## BOAT SHAPED OBJECTS OF STONE.

The boat-stone shown in Fig. 90 is an effigy of the beaver in the act of swimming, showing only that portion of the animal



FIG. 90. Boat-Stone Made in the Image of the Beaver.

which would appear above the surface of the water. The head, with its small ears, the round stout body and flat well marked tail, are characteristic of the beaver.

Fig. 91 shows the underside of the specimen, somewhat resembling a canoe or boat, whence the name of the type.



FIG. 91. Boat-Stone. Reverse Side of the Beaver.



Fig. 92 shows an unusual boat-stone which resembles the shell of a beetle. Its upper, or convex surface, is divided into bi-lateral halves by a longitudinal groove running its entire length, while a transverse depression further separates it into halves, each of which resembles the posterior or winged portion of a



FIG. 92. Effigy Boat-Stone.

beetle. The raised portions corresponding to the wing shields are accentuated by a checkered pattern of incised criss-cross lines. The under side of the specimen is shown in Fig. 93 and is similar to the beaver boat-stone shown in Fig. 91 being pierced with two holes near the center.



FIG. 93. Reverse Side of Effigy Boat-Stone.

#### BOAT SHAPED OBJECTS OF COPPER.

Boat-shaped objects of copper are shown in Figs. 94 to 97, inclusive. Fig. 94 shows a very finely wrought specimen, pierced with a hole at each end. The edge at each side is turned under, forming a curved ridge.



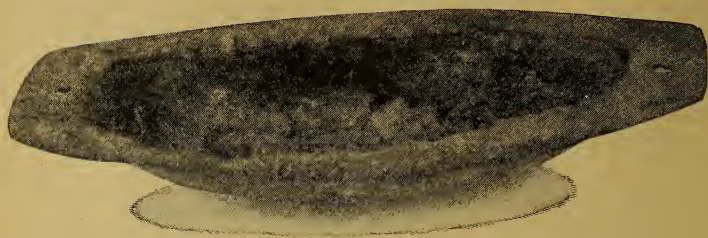


FIG. 94. Copper Boat-Stone.

Fig. 95 shows the opposite side of the above specimen, which contains a quantity of broken quartzite pebbles attached to it by corrosion of the copper.

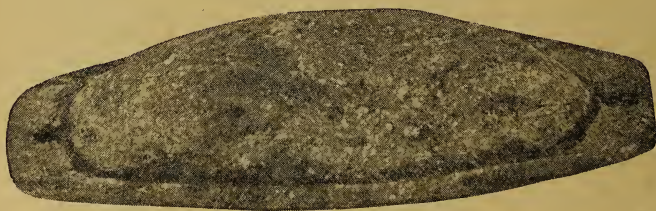


FIG. 95. Reverse Side of Copper Boat-Stone.

Fig. 96 shows another copper boat-shaped specimen, filled with round quartzite pebbles, white and pink in color. It will be noted that in the specimen just described the pebbles were broken, while in this one they are perfect, all uniformly rounded and about the size of small peas. The specimen is pierced with two holes near the center, similar to the boat-shaped objects of stone.

Fig. 97 shows another boat-shaped specimen, pierced with two holes near the center. No pebbles were found in this specimen, as it was placed in the cache upside down. No doubt originally its contents were similar to those of the two others, as the pebbles were found in abundance in the cache but no significance attached to them at the time.



FIG. 96. Copper Boat-Stone  
Containing Pebbles.



FIG. 97. Copper Boat-Stone.

#### COPPER CONES.

Figs. 98 and 99 show two splendid specimens of copper cones, one and three-fourths inches in diameter.

That shown in Fig. 98 has the interior filled with pink and white pebbles similar to those found with the boat-shaped specimens. The second specimen, shown in Fig. 99, was up-side down in the cache, and if it originally contained pebbles, they were lost. So far as recorded the copper specimens containing



FIG. 98. Copper Cone.



FIG. 99. Copper Cone.

small pebbles are the first taken from the mounds of the Scioto valley. Their use is more or less problematical, but they are usually conceded to have served as fetiches for promoting the personal welfare of the owner; as sacred objects, such as charms, talismans or amulets; or as mere ornaments.

#### REEL-SHAPED ORNAMENTS.

Another very interesting type of ornament taken from the cache are the reel-shaped objects made of stone and copper. These for the most part were closely associated; in fact, one of the stone reels was firmly attached to one of copper, by corrosion. The first one removed from the cache is shown in Fig. 100. It is made of slate of a reddish brown color, with bands of black. The ornament is three and three-fourths inches long by three inches wide, and is pierced with two holes. The arms of the reel are angularly cut, which is one of the characteristics of the reel-shaped ornaments found in Ohio. The specimen is very finely polished and symmetrically made.

Fig. 101 shows a reel-shaped ornament made of copper and in form almost the counterpart of Fig. 100. The specimen however is larger, measuring four and one-eighth inches wide and four inches long. It is pierced with two holes and the arms forming the reel are angularly cut.





FIG. 100. Banded Slate Reel-Shaped Ornament.

Fig. 102 shows a splendid example of the reel-shaped ornament, made of banded slate. The specimen is coated with a deposit of iron and the banded effect not shown. In many respects this ornament is like Fig. 100, excepting that on one side and parallel with the perforations, there is a concave depression running the full length of the specimen. Length, three and one-fourth inches; width, two and seven-eighths inches.

A second reel-shaped ornament made of copper, is shown in Fig. 103, which in many respects resembles Fig. 101; however the terminations of the arms forming the reel are rounded instead of angular. The length of the ornament is three and one-half inches and the width three and seven-eighths inches.

The third reel-shaped ornament made of copper is shown in Fig. 104. It is much smaller than the two other copper specimens, being three inches long and two and seven-eighths inches wide. The arms forming the reel are short and the ends angularly cut,  
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while the perforations are wider apart than in the two others. Associated with and attached to this ornament was another, similar in many respects, made of alabaster.

Fig. 105 shows another reel-shaped ornament, made of banded slate. The specimen is greatly discolored by copper, as it was closely associated with the copper reel-shaped ornaments and other copper objects in the cache.

The reel-shaped specimens, both of stone and copper, no doubt were used purely for ornament and the limited area in Ohio in which this type has been found in mounds, would indicate that they were peculiar to certain tribes of the great Hopewell culture.



FIG. 101. Reel-Shaped Ornament Made of Copper.



FIG. 102. Reel-Shaped Ornament Made of Banded Slate.

In the Museum of the Society is a large cache of copper objects, representing copper plates, ear ornaments, bracelets, axes and reel-shaped ornaments, taken from an old village site of the Ft. Ancient culture at Ft. Ancient. All the artifacts were broken or hammered out of shape and deposited in this cache. Some of the plates, if straightened out would measure four by eight inches and all were objects that could be attributed to the Hopewell culture, altho found cached away in a Ft. Ancient culture village. This discovery would indicate a conflict between the two cultures, in which the objects in the cache doubtless were taken as a prize. After being carried by the Ft. Ancient warriors to their village the identity of the captured loot was destroyed and the broken objects hid away in the ground. Among the copper pieces, which number more than sixty, were two reel-shaped ornaments similar to the Tremper specimens but much larger.

In the Museum of the Society several splendid examples of



the reel-shaped ornaments may be found, all coming from Franklin county, Ohio. A reel-shaped ornament of copper taken from a mound at Newark, Ohio, is in the collection of Phillips Academy,\* Andover, Massachusetts.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore† in his explorations along the Tennessee river, obtained nineteen of the reel-shaped ornaments. He was unable, however, to decide positively on what part of the body the ornaments were worn, they being found both on the chest and on the pelvis of the skeletons.



FIG. 103. Copper Reel-Shaped Ornament.

\* *Aboriginal Sites on Tennessee river*; Moore, page 241.

† *Aboriginal Sites on Tennessee river*; Moore, page 246.

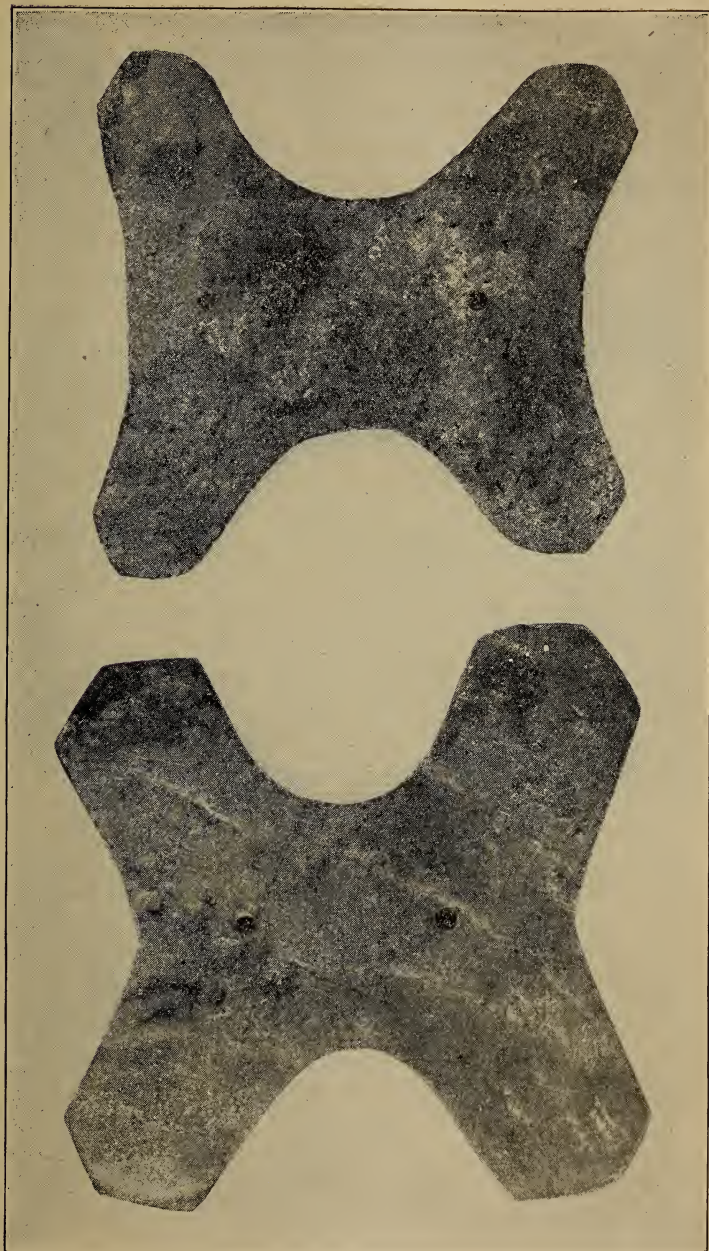


FIG. 104. Copper Reel-Shaped Ornament.

FIG. 105. Reel-Shaped Ornament of Banded Slate.



## EAR ORNAMENTS OF COPPER.

Spool-shaped ear ornaments of copper generally are present in burials of the Hopewell culture and are perhaps more abundant than any other of the ornaments made of copper. The ear ornaments usually are made of two concavo-convex discs connected by a short hollow cylinder of the same metal, passing thru a hole in the center of each plate and there clinched. Those shown in Fig. 106 were taken from a grave below the surface of



FIG. 106. Copper Ear Ornaments with Concavo-Convex Parts.

the Tremper mound. From this same grave was taken a second pair of ear ornaments, shown in Fig. 107, and differing to the extent of having one face perfectly flat, perhaps the first of this form taken from the mounds of the Scioto valley. At the



FIG. 107. Copper Ear Ornaments with One Part Flat.

Harness mound, thirty-seven miles north along the Scioto, more than fifty of these ornaments were found, all having the concavo-convex sides, as did those taken from the Seip mound, along Paint creek. Squier and Davis in their report upon the Mound City group make no record of finding the ear ornaments, altho the group is very similar to the Tremper mound.

EAR ORNAMENTS OF STONE.

An extremely rare and interesting type of ear ornament is that shown in Fig. 108. This type differs from the copper spool-shaped ear ornament, not only in material, but in form. The specimens shown in Fig. 108 are made from light red pipestone,

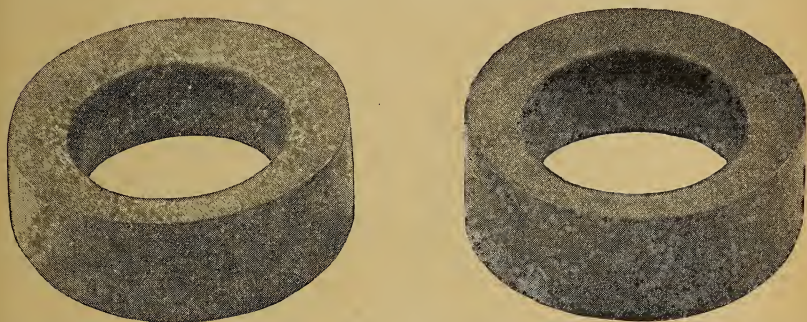


FIG. 108. Ear Ornaments Made of Red Pipestone.

very carefully finished and highly polished. Their shape might be compared to that of the modern napkin ring, and if a section five-eighths of an inch long was cut from a hollow cylinder or tube of stone, one and five-eighths inches in diameter with walls one-fourth of an inch thick, the result would be approximately that of the finished specimen shown; that is, a short tube. The only difference would be that in the specimen the circumference of the ring is concavo-convex, from without, and the rim at each end slightly concave toward the center.

A second pair of ear rings of this type is shown in Fig. 109.

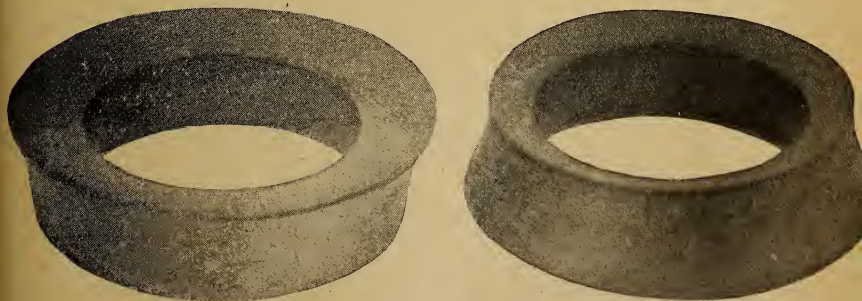


FIG. 109. Ear Ornaments Made of Ohio Black Slate.

They differ from the preceding specimens in being made from Ohio black shale, highly polished and with the exception of one end, in being shaped like the simple section of a hollow cylinder. The other end is fashioned similarly to Fig. 108, giving it the appearance of having a ridge or extended margin around the rim. The measurements of this pair of ear ornaments are: length five-eighths of an inch; diameter across ends, one and seven-eighths inches and two and one-eighth inches respectively; diameter of opening, one and three eighths inches.

This type of ear ornament has been found only in a few instances in the mounds of the Scioto valley. Squier and Davis make no mention of it in connection with the exploration of the Mound City group, but Professor Moorehead reports the finding of several specimens in the Hopewell group, Ross county.

#### CONE-SHAPED OBJECTS.

Cones made of several kinds of stone were found in the cache, the most interesting of which are those made of hyaline quartz, and shown in Fig. 110. The largest of these has a base diameter of two and three-fourths inches and a height of one and one-eighth inches, which would require for its making a crystal with a diameter of not less than two and one-half inches. This specimen is a truncated cone, has almost a perfectly circular base and is one-half inch in diameter at the top.

The second cone is made more after the fashion of the familiar hemisphere of hematite. It is finely cut, tho this is not apparent in the figure. The greatest diameter of the specimen is one and seven-eighths inches and the height one and one-fourth inches, requiring the crystal from which it was cut to be at least two and one-fourth inches in diameter. Hyaline quartz seems to have been highly prized by the various tribes of the Hopewell culture. Squier and Davis found large numbers of broken arrow and spear points made of quartz in mound No. 3 of the Mound City group. A foot-note on page 421 of "Flint Chips," catalog of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, England, states that "judging from the quantity of fragments, nearly a hundred arrowheads of hyaline quartz must have been



originally deposited on the altar," referring to mound No. 3 of the Mound City group.

However, as far as we know, the cones shown in Fig. 110 are the only ones made from hyaline quartz found in the Scioto valley. To cut into form a crystal having the highest degree of hardness of any rock known to him, is a good example of the skill and patience of primitive man.

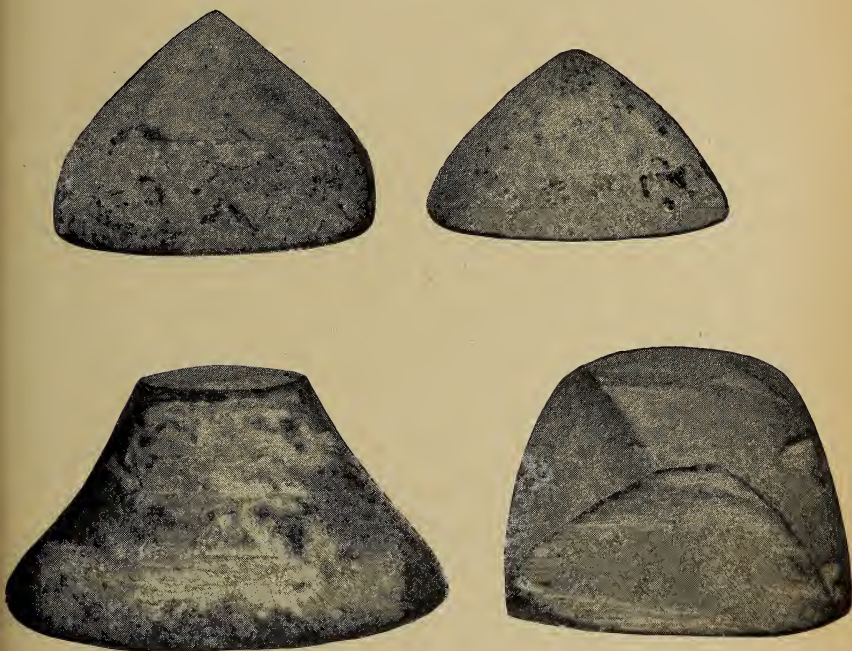


FIG. 110. Cone-Shaped Objects of Hyaline Quartz.

Quite a number of cones made of galenite were found in the cache. These varied in diameter from one and one-half inches to two inches, with a height of three-fourths of an inch to one inch, and were perfectly conical in shape. Two of these are shown at the top in Fig. 110.

Another form, made like the hematite hemispheres so commonly met with, was found in the cache. The specimen was made of Ohio black shale, and covered with a thin deposit of iron



## STONE PLATE.

In the center of the great cache was found a large stone plate, Fig. 111, made of a fine-grained sandstone, eleven and one-half inches in diameter, one-half inch thick and ground

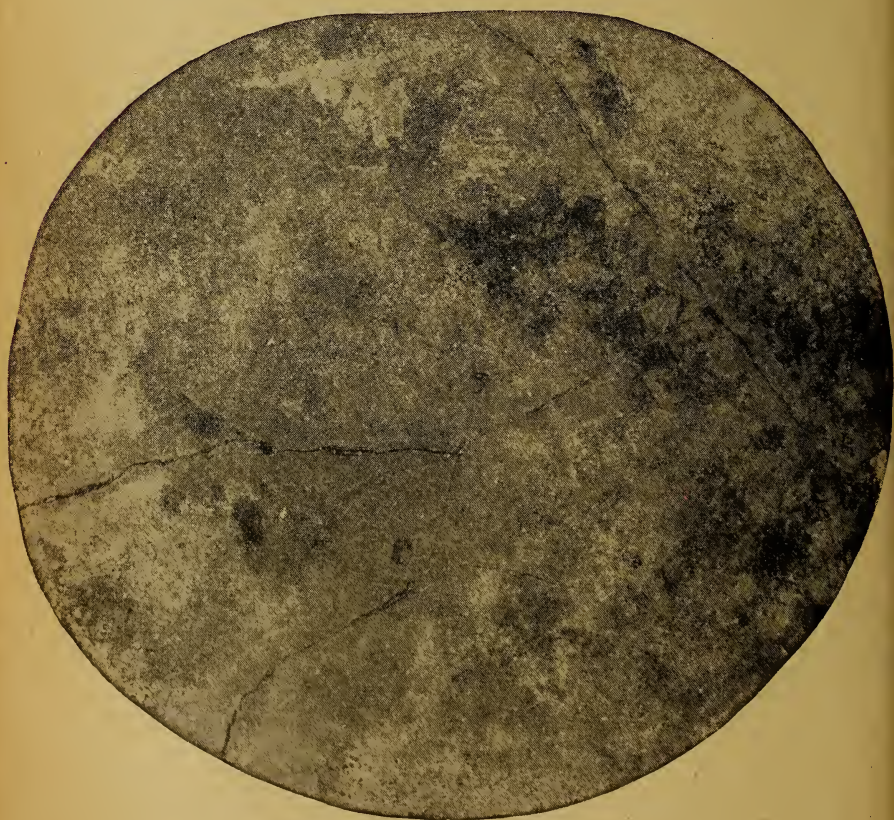


FIG. 111. Large Stone Plate.

perfectly smooth on both sides. The plate is stained by contact with copper ornaments placed in the cache, as shown by the light places on its surface. The darker stains shown are due to a finely pulverized charcoal, which seems to have been ground upon the plate. From the appearance of one side I am inclined

to believe that this stone disc was used in the grinding of pigments, as we found a number of indications of the use of red pigments; for instance on one of the effigy pipes, the sandhill crane has its head painted red, the color being well preserved. The plate was broken into four pieces, apparently the result of two distinct and intentional blows. The parts were readily reunited as shown in the cut.

#### PAINT CUP.

Near the plate was a paint cup, shown in Fig. 112, more than half filled with red paint. The paint cup is made of a

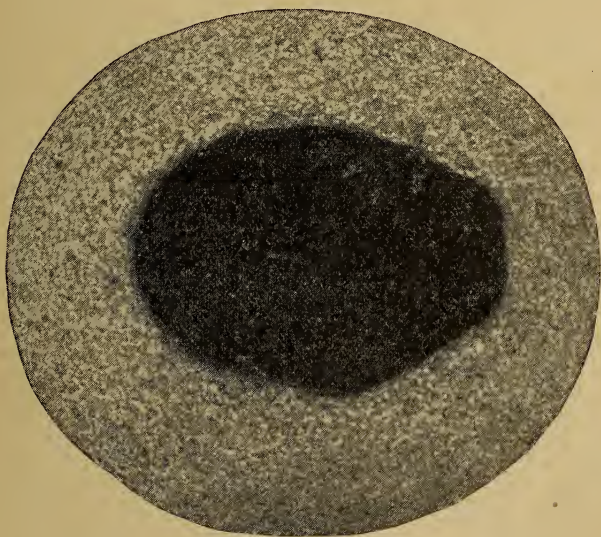


FIG. 112. Paint Cup Containing Red Paint.

coarse-grained sandstone, is oval in form, three and one-eighth inches in its longest diameter and one and one-half inches in thickness. The opening at the top is not quite one and one-half inches in its shortest diameter, but is enlarged until it reaches its greatest depth of three-fourths of an inch, where the diameter is about two and one-fourth inches. The cup beneath is rounded after the fashion of the burned clay pottery vessels.



## PIERCED TABLETS.

Pierced tablets were present in the cache in large numbers. Many of these, made of Ohio black shale, were so disintegrated that upon removal they fell to pieces. Some however, made from this material, remained intact. Other tablets in the cache were made of laurentian slate, which did not deteriorate and tho many of them were broken they were readily restored.

The pierced tablet shown in Fig. 113 is of special interest because of the finely engraved face. This face is strongly convex, while the reverse is perfectly flat and plain. The specimen is pierced at each end with a small hole. The designs on the



FIG. 113. Decorated Pierced Tablet Made of Black Shale.

face are conventional and consist of a four-lobed figure, one and one-half inches in diameter, and four smaller figures, shaped like the figure 9. The five figures are regularly grouped, covering the the surface of the tablet to within one-half inch of each end. All are decorated with criss-cross lines. The small figure does not seem to be a chance one with the Tremper mound peoples, for a like design cut in copper was found at the Hopewell mound by Prof. Moorehead.\* The design cut on the platform pipe, Fig. 83, is similar to that of the tablet.

Fig. 114 shows a pierced tablet made of shale, with streaks of harder shale running through it. The under side of the specimen is flat and the face side extremely convex. The tablet,

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\* The Antiquarian; Vol. 1, page 242.

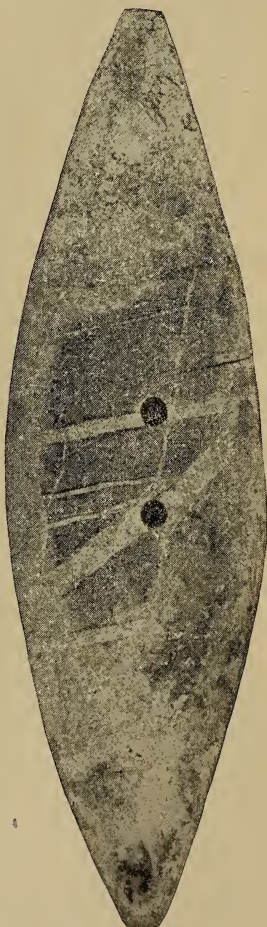
which is pierced with two holes, one-half inch apart, is one and three-eighths inches wide in the center, gradually tapering to the ends, where it is less than one-fourth of an inch wide.

Fig. 115 shows the commonest form of pierced tablet found, as fifteen specimens of this type were taken from the large cache,

Fig. 115. Pierced Tablet with Expanded Center.



Fig. 114. Pierced Tablet Made of Black Shale.



either perfect or fragmentary. They were all made of Ohio black shale. The specimen shown in Fig. 115 is a typical one, some being a little smaller, others much larger. The specimen measures four and three-eighths inches long, one and three-



eighths inches wide in the center, gradually tapering on both sides to the ends, which are a little over three-fourths of an inch wide. The bottom of the tablet is perfectly flat and the face is strongly convex, pierced with two holes about one and one-fourth inches apart.



FIG. 116. Pierced Tablet with Expanded Center and Ends.

Fig. 117 shows three very beautiful pierced tablets, made of laurentian slate. Tablet No. 1 is three and one-half inches long, one inch wide, flat on one side and strongly convex on the other. It is pierced with two holes, one of which is one-fourth of an inch in diameter, and is decorated on each edge with five deep

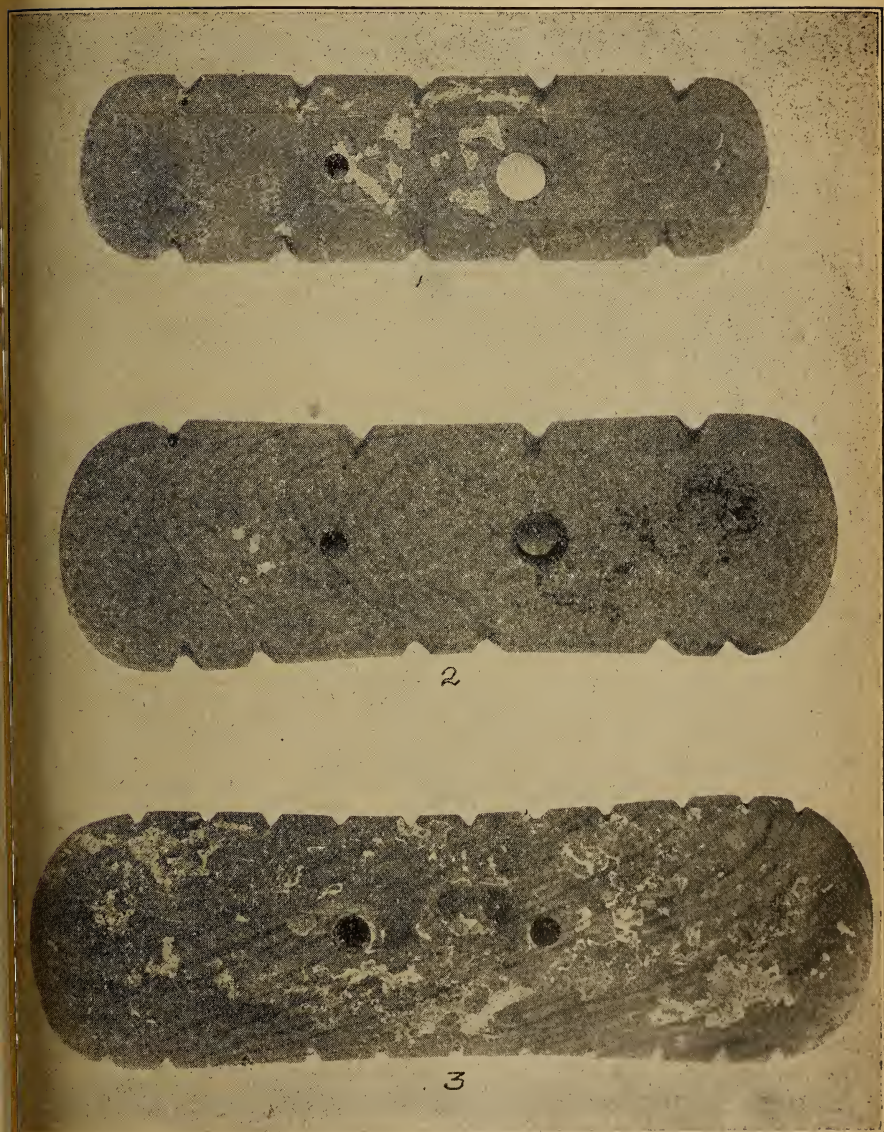


FIG. 117. Pierced Tablets Made of Laurentian Slate.

notches. The ends are oval, as are those of the two others of this type. No. 2 of Fig. 117 is larger than No. 1, but is of the same general form. The specimen measures four inches long, one and one-fourth inches wide; the decorations of the edges differ, one having four notches and the other six, but in pairs. No. 3, of Fig. 117, is the largest of this class of pierced tablets found in the mound. The specimen is about four and one-half inches long and a little over one and one-half inches wide at the center, gradually enlarging to the ends. The decoration consists of eleven notches on each edge.

Fig. 118 shows a very unusual type of pierced tablet. The specimen measures five inches in length and one and one-fourth inches wide at the center, gradually tapering and terminating in expanded ends, having much the same shape as the barbed scrapers made of flint. The tablet is flat beneath and convex on top and is pierced with two holes.

Fig. 119 is a splendid example of the diamond-shaped pierced tablets. The specimen is four inches long and almost two and one-fourth inches wide. It is flat on the bottom, the face strongly convex, and is pierced with two holes.

Fig. 120 shows four types of pierced tablets made of bone. No. 1, the most common of the four, is three inches in length and one inch wide at the center. One edge is practically straight, while the other is convex.

The tablet is pierced with a hole at each end, and has two holes near the edge on the curved side. Many tablets like No. 1 were taken from the cache in a more or less imperfect state, many of them having been badly burned when the structure was destroyed.

No. 2 of Fig. 120 shows another type of pierced tablet, made of bone, somewhat larger than No. 1 and having the edges equal, both being convex. The end holes in this specimen are quite large. Ten or more of this type were secured, mostly in an imperfect state of preservation.

No. 3 of Fig. 120 shows another bone tablet, in many respects similar to No. 1. The specimen is three and three-fourths inches long, one inch wide in the center, has one straight edge, while the other is strongly convex. The tablet is pierced with a





FIG. 118. Pierced Tablet Made of Laurentian Slate.

hole at each end. Only a few specimens of this type were secured.

No. 4 of Fig. 120 shows a pierced bone tablet made in the effigy of a bear canine. The specimen is four and one-fourth inches long and one and three-eighths inches wide near the center. It is made from deer antler, and is fully one-half inch



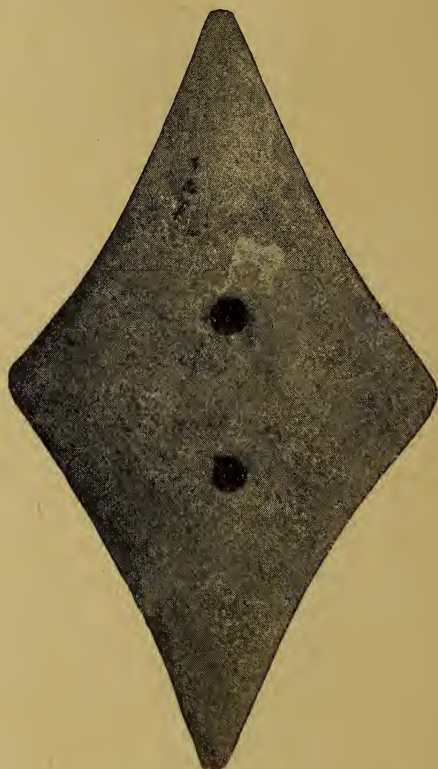


FIG. 119. Pierced Tablet, Diamond Shaped.

in thickness, flat on the under side and strongly convex above. It is pierced with two holes one inch apart.

Many artifacts made of bone were placed in the cache, but being exposed to the fire of the burning timbers when the structure was destroyed, suffered almost complete destruction. Hundreds of broken pieces of cut lower jaws of the bear, mountain lion, wild cat and even of man were found, which had been deposited with implements and ornaments made of wood, as shown by the charred remains. Associated with the wood and bone artifacts were remnants of woven fabrics, made of bast fiber, which added to the combustible material piled together, so that all were burned beyond possibility of being restored.

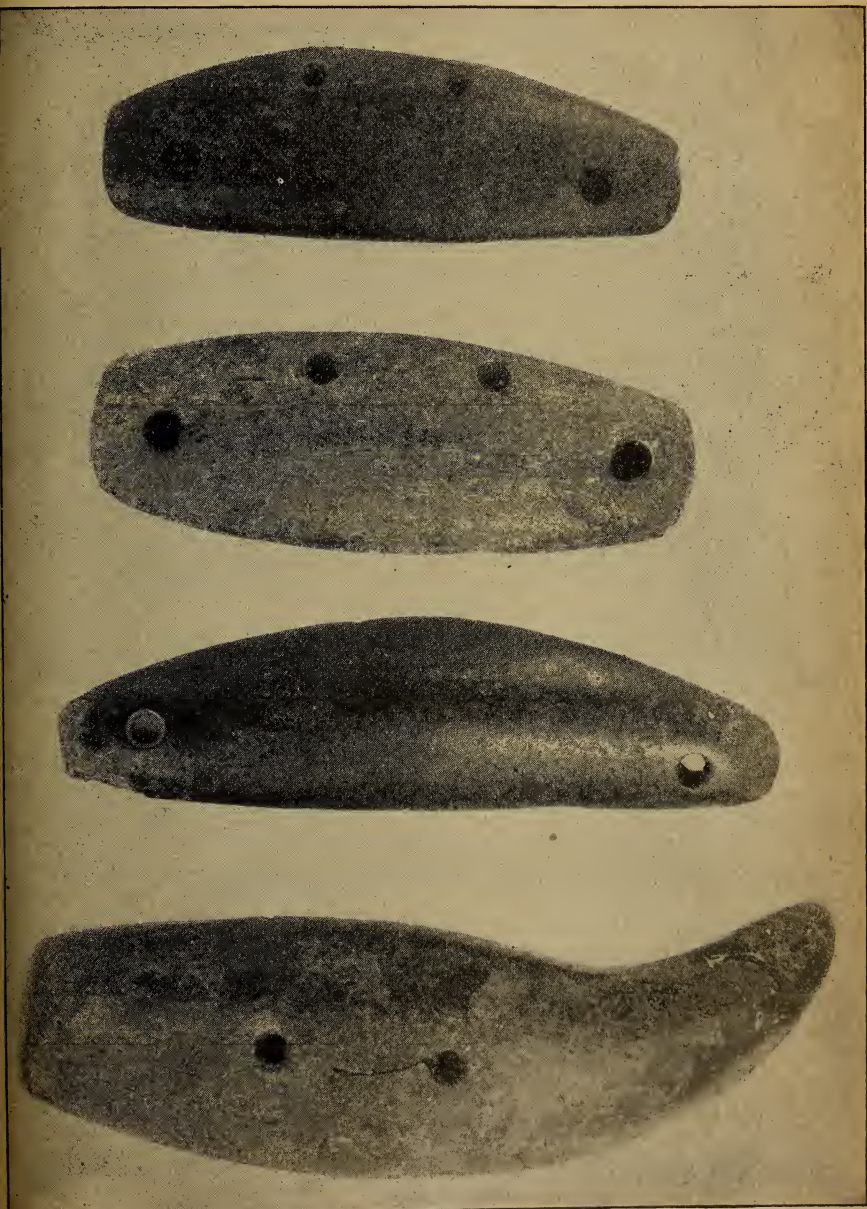


FIG. 120. Pierced Tablets Made of Bone.

## OBJECTS OF MICA.

Large pieces of mica in blocks a quarter of an inch in thickness and from eight to ten inches in diameter were found in the cache. Mica no doubt was highly prized by the Tremper mound peoples for making ornaments, as almost every part of the floor yielded uncut pieces.

In one of the rooms of the sacred building, designated as 25 on the map showing the "Plan of the Tremper mound," Fig. 3, the floor was practically covered with small to very large pieces of mica. Some of these were simply refuse pieces while others show designs partly cut, but rejected for some reason. Other pieces of the mica had been subjected to fire, destroying their resiliency, making the thin sheets of the mineral as soft and pliable as tin foil.

At the Harness mound, along the Scioto river, less than forty miles directly north, imitation pearls were found which were made by covering burned clay beads with the pliable mica, which gave them a close resemblance to genuine pearls. Designs cut in mica, especially of the conventional form, were not plentiful in the Tremper mound, altho its builders had an abundance of mica. However, the crescent form was found in some numbers in one of the graves below the floor of the mound. The crescents were eight in number, about one inch wide in the center and gradually tapering to the ends, which were cut round. The crescents varied in length from seven inches to ten inches.

Associated with them in the same grave was found a large bear effigy cut from mica, which is shown in Fig. 121. The specimen is a little over six inches long and four and one-fourth inches wide at the widest part. The effigy is an example of the ability of the primitive artist to express action in his handiwork.

## GALENA CRYSTALS.

Crystals of galena (lead ore) were found sparingly in the cache, but large crystals were found in the mound at several points above the floor.





FIG. 121. Effigy of the Bear. Made of Mica.



## CHIPPED FLINT OBJECTS.

The chipped flint objects found were characteristic of the culture and consisted of arrow-heads, spear-heads, flaked knives, etc. The flaked knives were found in goodly numbers in the cache, but many of them were destroyed by fire. The effect of fire on flint is shown in the two specimens to the left, in Fig. 122.

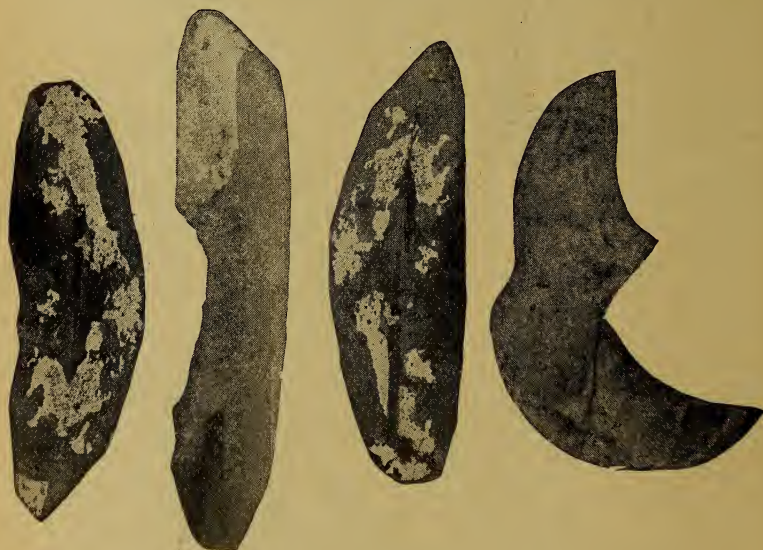


FIG. 122. Flint Knives and Gravers.

Flint knives no doubt were used by the primitive artists in fashioning the admirably sculptured animal and bird pipes found in the mound. The broken finely chipped implement on the extreme right in Fig. 122, perhaps was used by the sculptor as a graving tool. Several fragments of these highly specialized implements were found in the cache.

Fig. 123 shows a chipped ceremonial spear made of light gray flint, six inches in length and one and three-fourths inches wide. The chipping is well done and one side near the point is slightly curved, not unlike those found by Professor Moorehead at the Hopewell group. Upon the floor of the mound, near the center, was found a quantity of flint spalls, many of them two



FIG. 123. Ceremonial Spear.

inches in diameter, and numbering more than five hundred pieces. Perhaps these had been stored for use by the sculptors.

#### MEALING STONES.

Among the many interesting specimens found in the large cache are six mealing stones, which were piled together to one side of the deposit. Three of these are almost spherical boulders of granite, well ground and polished and ranging in diameter from four inches to eight inches, the largest weighing more than twenty-five pounds. Two of the mealing stones were common granite boulders, flattened on one side with rounded ends. A perfect bell-shaped pestle, with a base diameter of three and one-half inches and a height of five and one-half inches, was among the mealing stones. Mealing stones of any kind are rarely met with in the mounds of Ohio. Professor Moorehead found a large stone mortar or bowl in the Hopewell mounds\* and claims that nothing like it ever has been discovered in our Ohio valley mounds.

#### POTTERY.

The use of pottery by the Tremper mound peoples is certain, as many fragments were found on the floor of the mound. At several points the parts of entire vessels were found, but up to the present these have not been restored. For the most part the the pieces secured were not representative of the highest development of the ceramic art known to this culture. Squier & Davis in their explorations of the Mound City group found in Mound No. 3 large quantities of broken vessels, from which several almost perfect restorations were made. One of these,† as shown in their report is a very beautiful specimen and has been considered representative of the highest type of fictile art taken from the mounds of Ohio. An examination of the engraving by Squier & Davis would convince one that its maker possessed not only experience and skill, but also unlimited patience. However, I gather from reading the description of their finds in the Mound

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\* The Antiquarian; Vol. 1, page 212.

† Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley; Squier & Davis; Plat 46.



City group, that broken parts of other vessels were found having no designs. At the Tremper mound only a few pieces of the pottery showed design or decoration, the majority of the vessels represented being of the plain type.

#### TEXTILES.

An important industry of the builders of the Tremper mound was the weaving of fabrics. This is shown by the finding of charred remains of primitive textiles, upon the floor of certain small inclosures on each side of the center of the mound. These rooms may have been the sleeping apartments of the keepers of the sacred building. The floors of several of these rooms were covered with carbonaceous matter, several inches in thickness, consisting of straw, leaves, bark and woven fabrics.

The woven fabric shown in No. 1 of Fig 124 has both the warp and woof made from bast fiber.

No. 2 of Fig. 124 shows another weave, of which a number of fine examples were secured.

No. 4 of Fig. 124 shows the finest fabric secured in the mound. The woof and warp both are made of a very fine thread, and the fabric is a splendid example of primitive weaving.

No. 3 of Fig. 124 seems to be material prepared for making baskets, although no remains of baskets were found.

Fig. 125 shows a very good example of a coarse weave, and may have been used as bedding, as quantities of this weave appeared on the floor of the small rooms.

#### OBJECTS MADE OF WOOD.

A regrettable feature of the burning down of the structure covered by the Tremper mound, and one always present in the mounds of this culture, was the destruction of articles made from wood and other combustible materials. Throughout the great cache were to be seen what must have been very interesting objects of wood, but which had been almost entirely consumed, leaving only the charred remains, which quickly became nothing more than dust.

In one instance however, great care resulted in our being



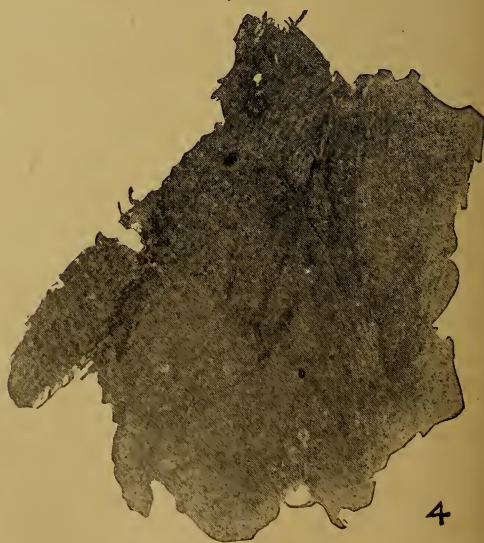


FIG. 124. Woven Fabrics.





FIG. 125. Woven Fabric.

able fully to observe and in part to remove and preserve, one of the more interesting of these perishable objects. This was what might be considered as a ceremonial bundle, suggesting in its purpose similar bundles used by very many of the historic tribes, particularly thruout the far west and southwest. This bundle consisted primarily of three lengths or sections of the southern bamboo, about twelve inches long, carefully wrapped together in several yards of a woven mat-like fabric. Scattered over the fabric and no doubt originally attached thereto, were numerous very small copper beads, which owing to their diminutive size were so badly corroded from oxidation and heat action as to be mere green spots of salts of copper.

#### RESUME.

A brief resume of the exploration of the Tremper mound shows the following outstanding features, which, it is believed, add materially to the fund of information concerning the great Hopewell culture of prehistoric inhabitants of Ohio, and which, it is hoped, will prove to be an important chapter in the history of the aboriginal peoples of the Ohio valley:

The mound marks the site of a sacred structure, wherein its builders cremated their dead, deposited the ashes in communal receptacles, made similar disposition of the personal artifacts of the dead, and observed the intricate ceremonies incident to funereal rites.

The builders of the Tremper mound had arrived at a cultural stage where united or communal effort in great part replaced individual endeavor, and in so doing had reached a plane of efficiency probably not equalled by any other people in the stone age period of its development. This fact is attested most strongly by their burial customs, in which by the use of communal depositories for cremated remains and personal artifacts, they effected a plan for the disposal of the dead unhampered by the limitations of the Seip mound and Harness mound plans, the next highest noted in the Ohio mounds. In these latter mounds, individual graves soon exhausted the available floor space, while in the Tremper mound plan, burial was limited only by the size of the



communal depositories, the number of which, moreover, easily could be increased if needed.

The high development of sculptural art by the builders of the Tremper mound is a most striking feature of their versatility. While artistic achievement is not always an index to the culture status of a people, the fact that in this respect they probably surpassed any other strictly stone age people, is significant, and taken together with other pertinent facts, places them very well along toward the upper stages of barbarism, with civilization waiting but a short distance away. The great number of admirably executed carvings of birds, animals and other life forms, taken from the mound, many of which would be worthy the efforts of the modern workman, cannot but excite wonderment and admiration for the primitive artists of prehistoric Ohio.

The finding of large fireplaces, showing evidences of very long-continued use and significantly located with respect to the communal deposits of ashes and artifacts, seems to indicate the use of sacred fires, so important an adjunct of ceremonial and religious observances among the early peoples of the old world. The great depth to which the earth below these fireplaces was burned suggests that they were kept perpetually burning, while the charred contents indicate that the fires were extinguished only when the earth composing the mound was heaped over them.

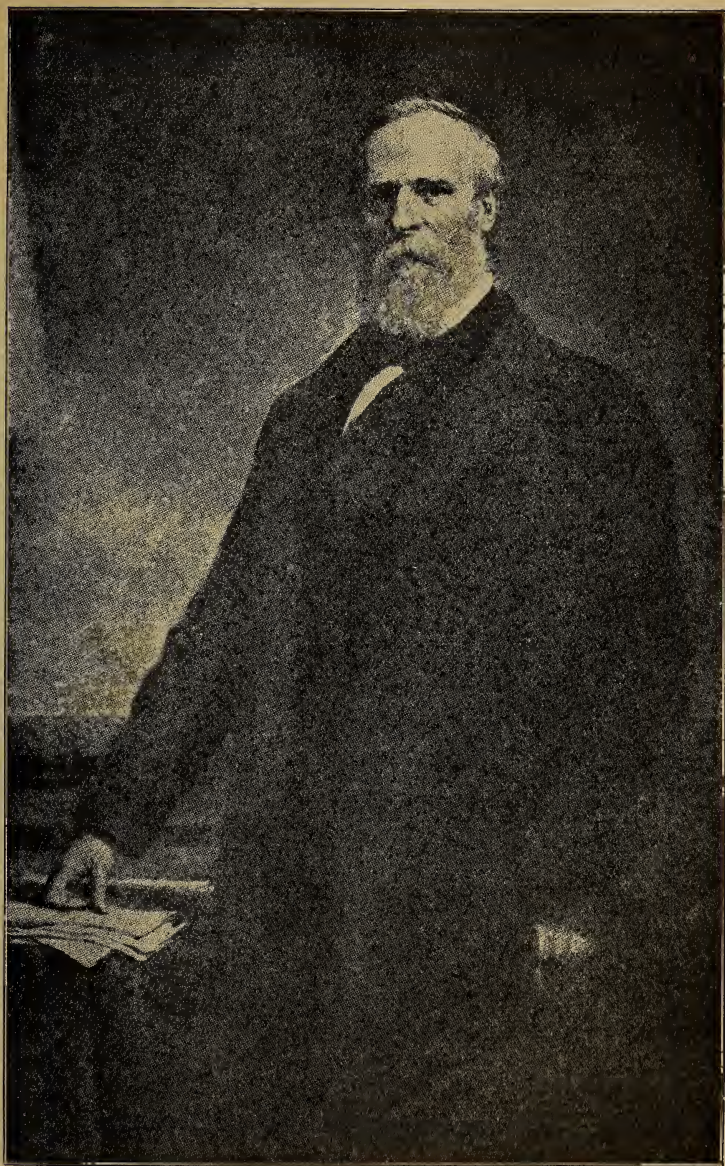
Of scarcely less importance than the exploration of the Tremper mound, *per se*, is the light it sheds on the Great Mound City group, of northern Ross county. Owing to the methods employed by Squier and Davis in examining the mounds of this group, in 1846, their character and purpose have remained until now matters of surmise. The plan employed by these early explorers was the sinking of shafts into the tops of the mounds, and from the limited area of a mound and its base thus exposed, to draw conclusions as to its character as a whole. In this way, mound No. 8, of the group, from which was taken a great cache of pipes and other objects very similar to the Tremper mound cache, was described by them as covering a great sacrificial altar, on which had been kindled intense fires, resulting in the breaking up of the specimens deposited thereon.

The conditions found in Mound No. 8 were exactly dup-



licated in the Tremper mound, but the complete examination of the latter showed that the conclusions drawn from the partial exploration by Squier and Davis were not warranted; in short, it is strikingly evident that the two mounds in their character and purpose were entirely similar, and that their builders were closely related. So similar indeed are the mounds and their contents, that it would not be surprising to find, if not already proven, that the builders of the Mound City group migrated southward through the Scioto valley, and constructed the Tremper mound and earthwork. Thus are forged several important links in the chain of evidence as to the existence and career of this most advanced of stone age peoples. We find them extending from Mound City, where their skill as builders and artists has been the wonder and admiration of archæologists, southward to the Ohio river, where at the Tremper mound site, they reached the highest point of their development so far noted.

The life story of this people, as told in the Tremper mound, certainly is one of the highly interesting chapters in the history of primitive civilization. No primitive people has shown such skill and perseverance in wresting from nature the raw materials needed for their purposes, nor such versatility in fashioning these materials into finished products. The most striking phase of this perhaps, is the manner in which with only the simplest of tools, the stone for their making was quarried from the hills and the realistic portrayals of bird and animal life, sculptured in full relief and finished in minutest detail, were effected. In the record preserved in the mound we find a vivid picture of the strength and persistence of the forces underlying human development, and urging it against all odds, toward a higher plane of development.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

From portrait painted for the White House by Daniel Huntington, a copy of which  
by Carl Rakemann hangs in the Hayes Memorial Building.



**THE DEDICATION OF THE HAYES MEMORIAL  
AT SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO,  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1916.**

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Memorials of our greatest statesmen have taken many forms and had their rise through various agencies. Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, was rescued from oblivion by a private association whose rules and fees still control its view by the public. Lincoln's modest home in Springfield, Ill., and "The Hermitage," the home of Jackson in Nashville, Tenn., are now in charge of local societies. The Grant, Garfield and McKinley memorials were made possible only through continuous and urgent appeals to a generous public. The Hayes Memorial is unique in that the beautiful home and grove, together with the valuable library and collections have been given to the State, for the absolutely free use of the public, the only condition being that a fireproof building be erected in the Grove to house the treasures.

Spiegel Grove, the much-loved home of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, a beautiful twenty-five acre grove of native forest trees was, some years ago, presented to the State of Ohio, for the use of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, by Colonel Webb C. Hayes, together with the library and collections of his father, as a memorial to his parents. In the language of the circular of the Archæological and Historical Society, issued in 1898, five years after the death of its former president, "this offer of the family is unusual for its liberality and most worthy of commendation for the filial desire it expresses to perpetuate the memorial to loved and honored parents."

The years of planning and erecting this building were cheered and interwoven by filial remembrance, a vision and a sure faith in the present accomplishment. Every memorial should in some way be the accumulation and interpretation of the facts, beliefs, character and deeds which made up the life of the person commemorated. The Hayes Memorial possesses in marked degree this beauty of association as well as an absolute beauty. Round the memory of the President and Mrs. Hayes, as flesh and blood



round the bone, are gathered whatever devoted family and friends could bring to illuminate the past, not only of their private lives and poignant personalities, but of the century of years, rich in history, running back from present days.



The following invitation announced the formal opening of the Hayes Memorial Building to the public, special invitations being sent to former State Senator T. A. Dean of Fremont, and former Governor Judson Harmon, who were so active in securing the provision for the erection of the fire-proof building required under the terms of the gift; and to President Wilson, Secretary of State Lansing, Secretary of War Baker, and Sena-

tors Pomerene and Harding:

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society  
requests the pleasure of your presence  
at the dedication of  
The Hayes Memorial Library and Museum  
erected in  
The Spiegel Grove State Park, Fremont,  
in honor of  
Rutherford Birchard Hayes  
Nineteenth President of the United States  
on Tuesday afternoon  
May thirtieth,  
Nineteen hundred and sixteen  
Spiegel Grove,  
Fremont, Ohio

Memorial Day, Tuesday, May 30th, 1916, began with all the fresh charm of a May morning. Fremont, the scene of so many historic celebrations in the past, was in gala attire. The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society had at the annual meeting designated the day for the dedication of the Hayes Memorial

Building, and the committee on Spiegel Grove had made careful plans therefor. The members of the Society were cheered by the interest displayed by the citizens of Fremont. As the result of a communication from his Honor, Mayor Kinney, to the City Council, the latter body appointed a committee consisting of Councilmen Schwartz and Zimmerman to act with the Mayor as chairman, which committee attended the meeting of the Fremont Chamber of Commerce which organization appointed a committee consisting of E. C. Gast, W. H. Schwartz and R. E. Ervin. The Mayor also appointed a Citizens' committee of bankers and editors, of which John M. Sherman was chairman, in the following communication:

FREMONT, OHIO, May 25, 1916.

HON. JOHN M. SHERMAN,  
*Fremont, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR:

Fremont is to be honored on next Tuesday by many notable guests and we, as a city, should not be unmindful of their presence.

With this in view, and as an appreciation of the State's recognition of Fremont and her distinguished dead; also recognizing the munificence of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, who made possible the perpetual memorial and park, as a reminder to the coming generations, I feel it but fitting and proper that as the executive head of Fremont I should appoint a special committee to represent the city.

This committee to co-operate with the Ohio Archæological and Historical society, the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations having part in the dedicatory ceremonies.

The Chamber of Commerce has arranged for an exceptionally capable committee of business men and it is my desire that the banking and newspaper interests, on account of their connections and wide acquaintance, be recognized and represented. It is, therefore, with very great pleasure that I ask you to serve on this special reception and arrangement committee.

Very truly yours,

GEO. KINNEY,  
*Mayor.*

The local committees appointed by the City Council, the Fremont Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor, assisted the Archæological Society and its local committee of life members—Basil Meek, I. T. Fangboner and Miss Lucy E. Keeler—in carrying out the comprehensive program which included not only an amplified Decoration Day program but also the dedication of memorial windows which had been placed by Colonel Hayes in memory of his father's connection with the Eugene Rawson Post, of the Grand Army, and of Croghan Lodge of Odd Fellows, which he had joined in 1849 when Fremont was known as Lower Sandusky. These parts of the program were in addition to the regular dedicatory exercises of the Memorial Building by the Archæological Society.

Colonel Hayes, acting for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, extended a personal invitation through Superintendent Timmons and the Rev. Fathers O'Hare and Reiken to the school children of the public and parochial schools, to make an inspection of the Memorial Building in the early morning, while en route to decorate the graves of the soldier dead in the cemeteries. An invitation was extended also to the members of Croghan Lodge, I. O. O. F., to dedicate a memorial window to the lodge; and the following letters were sent to the commander of Eugene Rawson Post and the 23rd Regiment Association.

"SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, May 23, 1916.

*Comrade* JAMES A. GILLMOR,

*Commander Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R.*

DEAR SIR:

The trustees of the Ohio Archæological Society have received from Col. Webb C. Hayes in commemoration of his father's connection with Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R., an illuminated Memorial window of the Grand Army badge in colors with the date, 11 May, 1881, on which he joined Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R.

The trustees after conference with you and others have reserved the period from 11:00 a. m. to 12:00 a. m., for the exclusive use of the members of Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R., and

all soldiers of the War for the Union for an inspection of the Memorial Building and such exercises in connection with a dedication of Eugene Rawson Post Memorial window or such other exercises incident to Memorial Day as the Eugene Rawson Post may desire, including the use of the speakers' stand erected for the regular Dedicatory Exercises of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, beginning at 1:30 p. m.

While it was the desire of the donor to give the members of Eugene Rawson Post and the surviving soldiers of the War for the Union the first opportunity to visit the Memorial Building after its completion and before its formal dedication by the Society, it was found that this could not be done at an earlier hour on Decoration Day without interfering with the hallowed custom of strewing flowers over the graves of the honored dead, and that the hour mentioned, 11:00 a. m. to 12:00 a. m., could be utilized after the ceremonies in the cemeteries and was the only hour available prior to the formal exercises which would occupy the entire time after 1:30 p. m.

The surviving members of General Hayes' old Regiment, the 23rd Ohio, have been invited to be present during this hour for an inspection of the building and later information from Governor Willis indicated his presence with them at the Memorial Building also in the morning prior to his departure for Elyria to attend a G. A. R. meeting early in the afternoon.

Very respectfully,

The Ohio State Archæological & Historical Society,  
By E. P. FRENCH, *Asst. Curator and Librarian.*

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, May 8, 1916.

BENJAMIN KILLAN,  
*Secretary 23rd Regiment Assn.,  
Mansfield, Ohio.*

DEAR LIEUT. KILLAN:

The Hayes Memorial Library and Museum will be dedicated on Tuesday, May 30th, at 1:30 p. m., by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, of which it is a branch.



The President, Secretary of War, and United States Senators from Ohio have been especially invited, in addition to which the Society has issued a number of invitations to citizens of Ohio.

It is not definitely known whether the President can come, but the exercises will be conducted by Prof. G. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin, President of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

In the Museum, we have gathered together many, nearly all, of my father's war relics which were so intimately associated with the Twenty-third Regiment, and the presence of the members of the regiment would be especially appreciated by Mrs. Hayes and myself, and in fact by all of my father's family.

The morning New York Central train leaves Cleveland rather early, but the comrades can catch a returning train at 3:32 p. m. and 5:55 p. m.

If the President comes, there will, of course, be a very large gathering, in which case, we must ask the indulgence of the members of the Regiment, and request that they make themselves known, as we desire to have them take luncheon with us as soon as it can be arranged.

As you are probably aware, ever since my father's death, I have had forwarded a wreath for the Twenty-third monument, direct to the Superintendent of Woodlawn Cemetery, Cleveland, Ohio, for want of a better address. I presume it has been received regularly, although I have had no direct advices.

In this connection, I wish to express again the sincere thanks of the members of my father's family for the wreaths which have been sent to place over the graves of my parents.

The family monument, a new granite base which contains the caskets, has been erected on a knoll in Spiegel Grove, and this would undoubtedly be another object of interest to the surviving members of the grand old regiment.

With sincere regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

WEBB C. HAYES.

DEDICATION OF THE HAYES MEMORIAL.

MORNING PROGRAM.

- 8:00 A. M. The Memorial Building will be thrown open at 8 o'clock A. M., for the exclusive use of the school children and teachers of the Public Schools, headed by the Light Guard Band, and of St. Ann's and St. Joseph's Parochial Schools, headed by the Woodman Band, on their way to the cemeteries to decorate the graves of the soldiers. Firing squad and a special committee from the G. A. R. will be conveyed by autos to Spiegel Grove State Park, St. Joseph and Calvary and Oakwood cemeteries. Members of the G. A. R. and Woman's Relief Corps to Oakwood by Trolley Car, returning to Spiegel Grove by autos.
- 9:30 A. M. Croghan Lodge and the Uniform Rank and other members of the I. O. O. F. will leave their headquarters, Front and State streets, headed by Woodman Band and march to Spiegel Grove.
- 10:00 A. M. Music by Light Guard Band.  
Meeting called to order by John M. Sherman, Esq., and presentation of his Excellency, the Honorable Frank B. Willis, Governor of Ohio.  
Exercises Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R.  
Assembly called to order by Comrade Jas. A. Gillmor, Commander of Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R.  
Address by the Rev. A. C. Shuman, of Tiffin.  
Dedication of Eugene Rawson Post Memorial Window in the Hayes Memorial.
- 11:00 A. M. Exercises Croghan Lodge I. O. O. F.  
Assembly called to order by G. L. Roach, Noble Grand.  
Prayer by W. D. Pearce, Vice Grand.  
Address by Meade G. Thraves, Esq., Historian Croghan Lodge.  
Address by Ivor Hughes, Esq., Past Grand Master.  
Benediction by J. E. Courtney, Chaplain.

AFTERNOON PROGRAM, 2 P. M.

Meeting called to order by Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

Invocation by the Rev. J. C. Roberts, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Fremont.

Song by the Col. George Croghan Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution and the Fremont Church Choirs, led by Prof. Alfred Arthur, Leader 23rd Ohio Regiment Band, accompanied by the Woodman Band.

Welcome by His Honor, George Kinney, Mayor of Fremont.

Address by Charles Richard Williams, of Princeton, N. J., biographer of Rutherford B. Hayes.

Song by the Col. George Croghan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution and Fremont Church Choirs, led by Prof. Alfred Arthur, Leader 23rd Ohio Regiment Band, accompanied by the Woodman Band.

Remarks by the Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, representing the President of the United States.

\* Remarks by the Honorable Frank B. Willis, Governor of Ohio.

Remarks by United States Senator, Atlee Pomerene.

† Remarks by United States Senator, Warren G. Harding.

Remarks by the Honorable Arthur W. Overmyer, Congressman from the 13th Ohio District.

Lieutenant General S. B. M. Young, U. S. A., commander-in-chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of which Rutherford B. Hayes was commander-in-chief at the time of his death, represented by Captain Alexis Cope.

Remarks—Hon. James E. Campbell, former Governor of Ohio, Trustee Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

Remarks by Capt. Elias R. Monfort, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, represented by Past Department Commander, Gen. J. Kent Hamilton.

23rd Ohio Regiment Association of which Rutherford B. Hayes was President from its organization after the Antietam Campaign in 1862 until his death, represented by Captain John S. Ellen, President.

Eugene Rawson Post, G. A. R., of which Rutherford B. Hayes became a member May 11, 1881, represented by James A. Gillmor, Commander.

Sandusky County Bar Association of which Rutherford B. Hayes became a member in 1845, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, represented by Basil Meek, Esq., President.

Croghan Lodge, I. O. O. F., of which Rutherford B. Hayes became a member 17th of September, 1849, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio, represented by Meade G. Thraves, Esq.

Birchard Library Association, of which Rutherford B. Hayes was President from its organization in 1873 until his death, represented by Charles Thompson, President.

Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Society, of which

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\* In the morning program.

† A telegram of appreciation and regrets at unavoidable absence, read by former Lieutenant-Governor F. W. Treadway, Trustee O. S. A. and H. S.



Rutherford B. Hayes became a member at its organization, 6th of June, 1874, represented by I. H. Burgoon, President.

Benediction by Rev. E. M. O'Hare, rector of St. Ann's Catholic Church.



SPIEGEL GROVE.

At the Hayes residence, the hosts, Colonel and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Birchard A. Hayes of Toledo, Mr. and Mrs. Scott R. Hayes of New York, Mrs. Fanny Hayes Smith of Washington, and a nephew, William P. Hayes of Asheville, N. C., received their distinguished guests. First in the day came the children from the public and parochial schools, some two thousand strong, marching in order and each carrying a flag, a moving and inspiring sight.

Not far from the residence, on the beautiful knoll to the south, stands the monument in the base of which repose the remains of the President and Mrs. Hayes, and this spot was one of the points of pilgrimage throughout the day. After the death of his wife, in 1889, President Hayes devoted much thought to the design and construction of a simple monument which was constructed of Dummerston (Vermont) granite, from the quarries



now located on the ancestral farm to which his parents, Rutherford Hayes of Brattleboro and Sophia Birchard of Fayetteville, moved upon their marriage in 1812 and occupied until their migration to Delaware, Ohio, in 1817 where they lived ever afterward and where the future president was born, Oct. 4, 1822. The monument was erected in Oakwood Cemetery, but in April, 1915, the bodies of the President and Mrs. Hayes and the monu-



Monument designed and erected by Rutherford B. Hayes, after the death of Lucy Webb Hayes in 1889, of Vermont Granite from the farm from which his parents migrated from West Dummerston, Vermont, to Delaware, Ohio, in 1817. The caskets were placed in a granite block 12 x 20 feet, which was then sealed and the monument brought from Oakwood Cemetery and placed on this new granite base on The Knoll in the Spiegel Grove State Park in April, 1915.

ment were transferred to Spiegel Grove. Beautiful evergreen trees and shrubs screen the knoll which is further enclosed with a tall iron fence. The gate was opened on Memorial day, and the Fremont school children strewed a profusion of beautiful flowers upon the base of the monument. Following an annual custom, a beautiful wreath of white lilies was placed there by representatives of the 23rd O. V. I., General Hayes' old regiment. Flags intermingled their colors with the floral tributes.

Governor Willis arrived at Spiegel Grove at 10:30 o'clock and was greeted with cheers and applause, and a crowd imbued with patriotic and civic enthusiasm. The G. A. R. having completed their exercises at the cemeteries took their places on the stand erected on the lawn in front of the residence, and to mark their entrance the band played the Star Spangled Banner.

John M. Sherman, in well-chosen remarks introduced Governor Willis :

*Ladies and Gentlemen, and Children of the Fremont Schools:*

This is Memorial Day; a day which has long since become a part of our national life, a day on which we not only decorate the graves of our noble and patriotic dead, but consecrate our lives anew, to the service of our country and to the service of our fellow men.

This year the day has an added interest for all of us. We stand within the shadow of a Memorial, made possible by the generous gifts of the state and of a loyal son, which is to be dedicated today to the memory of a man, who was one of God's noblemen; loved by all the people of this city, honored by the state and elevated to the highest position of honor and power in the gift of the nation.

A man whose private life was so pure, whose army life was so patriotic and whose political life was so clean and conscientious, that his star gains added lustre as the years go by.

Three times the people of Ohio elected General Hayes their governor, and at the dedication of this Memorial it seems fitting and proper that the chief executive of this state should be the first one to speak.

I therefore have the honor of presenting to you, the Honorable Frank B. Willis, governor of Ohio, who will address you.

## GOVERNOR WILLIS' ADDRESS.

Governor Willis spoke as follows:

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It is indeed a rare privilege to be present and take a part in these interesting exercises on a day set apart in honor of our patriotic dead; to be invited to join in this commemoration of one whose private life was an inspiration and whose public service was a benediction.



On this historic ground you have today united in this splendid celebration which has its impressive lesson for all of the multitude here assembled. I rejoice to see in the van of these ceremonies those who valiantly marched forth to battle for liberty and union and the perpetuation of our Republic, the boys in blue of '61 to '65 who followed the flag through the stress of war and gave the nation under God a new birth of freedom.

I have the sanction of history when I speak of them as the boys in blue. These gray veterans who survive, the most inspiring faces and forms in all this vast assembly, were the boys of fifty-five years ago, the blush of youth on their cheeks, the light of hope and valor in their eyes and in their hearts the patriotic devotion to country that carried them down to the sunny Southland to preserve the Union "one and indivisible."

We forget sometimes that, of the 2,778,304 enlistments in the armies of the United States for service in the Civil War, 1,151,438 had not reached the age of nineteen years, and 2,159,798 were not yet twenty-three years old. Only 62,533 of all that vast enlistment were more than twenty-six years of age. I, therefore, speak advisedly of those who wore the blue as "boys." Their example will stimulate succeeding generations of American youth to respond to their country's call and follow the flag in support



of a cause that, like the judgment of the Lord, is true and righteous altogether.

A young Greek, musing on the battle plain of Marathon two thousand years ago, exclaimed, "The trophies of Miltiades will not let me sleep." Julius Caesar, in the presence of a monument to Alexander the Great, who at the age of thirty-two had conquered the world, was inspired to carry the arms of the Roman legions to the confines of ancient Gaul. The examples of the patriot Tell and Arnold Winkelried "made way for liberty" to other times and distant lands.

The deeds of these veterans and their comrades who have passed to eternity will live in the hearts they leave behind to remotest posterity, and raise about the citadel of our liberties a rampart that shall not yield to war and wasting time. It is well for the veteran defenders of the Union to assemble here today and all over this broad land, that prattling childhood may treasure them and their deeds in memory and that we all may reflect with gratitude upon their contribution to the perpetuity and prestige and glory of our Republic.

With each returning year the ranks of the grand army grow thinner. The step of the veteran is less elastic, the form more bent, and the temples are whitened with the snows of winter.

    "Every year they're marching slower;  
    Every year they're stooping lower;  
Every year the lilting music stirs the hearts of older men.  
    Every year the flags above them  
    Seem to bend and bless and love them,  
As if grieving for the future when they'll never march again."

In years they are now old men, but in spirit and devoted patriotism they are as young as when in the early sixties they bade good-bye to parents and sweetheart and wife and child and marched away "to the grand, wild music of war."

I need not urge the youth of this generation to emulate the patriotic example and the heroic service of the old guard, who approach life's sunset under the flag they saved and amid the plaudits of their grateful countrymen. Their monument is the more perfect union crowned with liberty universal. They made



good the declaration of independence and struck the shackles from the slave; they invested with a new meaning our starry emblem. As we see its folds unrolled upon the fragrance laden air of this sacred day, we shall do well to take to heart the lessons that it teaches. The blue speaks of truth and the loyalty of our citizenship; the white of purity and the devotion of our patriotic women; the red of valor, the crimson flow of the patriot's blood poured out as a libation upon the altar of his country,—valor and purity side by side, moving on to a national destiny as high as heaven and fadeless as the stars.

While this is to the young a day of inspiration, it is also to many of us a day of retrospection and sacred memories. Some are thinking of mothers, who with breaking hearts cheered husbands as they marched away and then went bravely and resolutely to work to care for the children left in the home. Of such an one well has the poet said:

"The wife who girds her husband's sword,  
'Mid little ones who weep and wonder,  
And bravely speaks the cheering word,—  
What though her heart be rent asunder;  
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear  
The bolts of war around her rattle—  
Has shed as sacred blood as e'er  
Was poured upon the field of battle!"

I have in mind a little log cabin on the Olentangy, in Delaware county. When the father of the family was with the boys in blue down on the tented field, the mother worked to support the children and pay the interest on a mortgage, while she listened with forebodings, but a brave heart, to the news that was echoed back from the battlefield. She kept the fires burning on the hearth of home and welcomed back with joy the war-worn soldier when the Union legions melted into the ranks of peace.

But today our thoughts center here in this beautiful grove, whose fame is nation wide, and in the home that is for all time enshrined in the affectionate regard of the people of Ohio.

The county of Sandusky occupies a conspicuous place in our history. For more than a century the story of the heroic defense of Fort Stephenson by Major Croghan against the British has

thrilled the youth of America. From pioneer days the sons of this region have gone forth to win enduring fame in the service of their country. Their ashes hallow the earth above which we have raised monuments to commemorate their valor and patriotism. Not far away, in a church-yard at Clyde, sleeps gallant General McPherson, who fell in the battle of Atlanta, while close by is the grave of George Burton Meek, the first native-born American who fell in the Spanish-American War. In the beautiful cemetery of this city rests all that was mortal of Rutherford B. Hayes, general in the Civil War, thrice governor of Ohio, and before the conclusion of his last term elected president of the United States. From the White House he returned to Spiegel Grove, where he lived the life of the modest model American citizen in the ideal American home.

I shall not enter upon any extended sketch of the life and services of this eminent Ohioan. That has been reserved for the biographer and historian. It may not be out of place, however, to speak of his fidelity to civic duty and every public trust. These virtues, indeed, are in large measure within the attainment of all. They are not rare, but they are of such transcendent importance and worth that their conspicuous exemplification in one who has risen to the highest place within the gift of the people is more beneficent than the achievements of genius in lifting the multitude to higher planes of life and service.

Others surpassed Hayes at the bar, though he was an able lawyer. Others ranked higher in the army, but there was no better soldier than he, and his wounds attested his courage and gallantry. In Congress and on the hustings we have heard more gifted orators, yet he always spoke effectively and frequently swayed the judgment of his hearers when others by rhetorical flights pleased only the fancy. Others made larger claims to constructive statesmanship and administrative reform, but his state papers are of a high order; he took advanced ground on the isthmian question that has assumed new importance since the opening of the Panama Canal; he was an early and earnest advocate of civil service reform and in his inaugural address gave courageous utterance to a truth that gathers new force with every passing year:



ROTUNDA OF THE HAYES MEMORIAL.



"He serves his party best who serves his country best."

No party leader ever uttered a nobler sentiment. It is an ideal for all who are charged with the administration of State affairs. It deserves a place with the laconics of the antique world.

He was sincerely interested in every enterprise with which he was officially associated. An appointment to a position on a committee or a board, however humble, was never to him an empty honor. He was always remarkably regular in attendance at meetings and freely gave his time and thought to the transaction of the business in hand. After he had been president of the United States he was an active member on the boards of trustees of a number of colleges and for years president of the National Prison Association. He served Ohio as president of the State Archæological and Historical Society and by appointment of the governor as trustee of the Ohio State University. He was deeply interested in manual training and his last public address was on this subject. He was a pioneer in the movement that has broadened out into the vocational education of today which is finding its way into the schools all over our land. Assuredly he has given us and the world a noble and inspiring example of the unselfish and uplifting service that even an ex-president of the Republic may perform when he returns to the ranks of his fellow citizens.

His home life is a theme upon which we are tempted to dwell, but that is not necessary. It is known to the world. Who has not heard of the partner of all his joys and triumphs, the good and gracious Lucy Webb Hayes, whether in or out of the White House, the first lady of the land? No words of mine can adequately portray her noble character or express the esteem and love that hallow her memory. From the hospitals of the battlefield to the cozy room yonder where the grim messenger found her plying the needle in a work of love, she was the friend and comforter of all who knew her.

It is fitting that this home, hallowed by two such spirits, should be preserved and cherished by the state that they loved so well, and that this memorial building, which we dedicate today, should be the permanent repository of the literature of Ohio and the middle west which General Hayes collected with discriminat-



ing care and which his children in a liberal and patriotic spirit have transferred to the keeping of our commonwealth.

May the gratitude of our entire citizenship continually bless this consecrated spot. May they in larger numbers turn their thoughts and steps hither as the years pass by. With the annual return of this day may they bear to this leafy grove their garlands of flowers, fair emblems of faith and hope, mementoes of sympathy and love, "sweet prophecies of the resurrection."

Comrade James A. Gillmor, Commander of Eugene Rawson Post, then introduced the Rev. A. C. Shuman of Tiffin, who spoke as follows:

We can scarcely realize that fifty-five years ago this country was on the verge of ruin, with two governments, each representing different political and economic ideals, the north with its wonderful industrial wealth and the south with its agricultural empire. But we can recognize the awful crisis that confronted the citizens. We were divided and no one could perceive what the outcome would be.

The people were not so well acquainted, they misunderstood each other and were prejudiced by literature, exaggerating conditions and by politicians, who spread their doctrines of sectionalism for gain. And then came the awful shock of battle, when thousands and thousands were called to face death through the long years of carnage that followed.

There were 2,265 actual engagements. Time and again these men we honor today were called upon to dare death through an average of eleven battles a week. It is almost beyond comprehension that there were 2,277,374 men called upon to fight for the unity of the nation, of which Ohio's quota was 313,318.

That the undying loyalty of these men could never be doubted is proved by the fact that so many dead were left on the field of battle, a ratio of one in nine through four long years, during which those heroes underwent vicissitudes almost beyond endurance, while 700 of their comrades were falling every day. Then came Gettysburg when the backbone of the Confederacy was broken.

Lee's last stand at Appomatox and the consequent negotiations for peace furnish one of the most memorable events in the

history of the nation. Facing each other were Grant's veteran armies of the north and Lee with the flower of the south. When after the great Confederate general had rejected the northern leader's peace terms Grant said 'I'll wait another day' history was written. The destiny of the nation rested in the hands of these two men.

Then Grant renewed his offer the next day and General Lee accepted, bringing to a close the long weary years of conflict. The greatest civil war in the history of the world was ended and the men who wore the gray became once more citizens of a united nation.

We are here today to keep green the memory of those men who gave their life blood for the preservation of the republic and their comrades who have since gone to join them in eternal rest. With malice toward none and charity for all we shall go on unfolding the glorious destiny of the land of Washington, Lincoln and Rutherford B. Hayes, and implanting in the breasts of our sons and daughters the spirit which led those valiant soldiers to undergo untold hardships for the sake of their country's unity. By inspiring these high sentiments in our youths, through such services as we are observing here today we guarantee the stability and permanence of the nation because we are creating strength of character which will preserve for ever our nation's greatness.

Led by Commander Gillmor and Post Adjutant B. F. Evans, Eugene Rawson Post marched to the Hayes Memorial Building and there dedicated the Eugene Rawson Post window.

PROCEEDINGS OF I. O. O. F.

Promptly at 10:15 the Toledo and Fremont Cantons, I. O. O. F., and subordinate lodge members and Rebekahs formed in line on Front Street.

Headed by the Woodman band, escorted by the Maccabees' Rifle company, followed by the Patriarchs Militant, uniformed rank of the Odd Fellows, and the banner bearers of Croghan and McPherson local lodges, the subordinate lodges and Rebekah lodges, they proceeded from the corner of Front and State, up State to Park Avenue, on Park to Croghan, Croghan to Wood, Wood to Garrison, Garrison to Wayne, Wayne to Birchard, out

Birchard to Buckland, Buckland to Hayes, thence to Spiegel Grove where the following program and exercises were carried out by the Odd Fellows in dedication of their memorial window in the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum.

The Noble Grand, G. L. Roach, as chairman, opened the exercises with prayer by W. D. Pearce, Vice Grand of the lodge, and he not being present the prayer was read by J. E. Courtney, Chaplain of the lodge, which is as follows:

Almighty God, we thank Thee that we can come into Thy presence and call Thee Father and realize the common brotherhood of men.

We come as representatives of a great order to enter which every man must acknowledge belief in Thee and we wish to here publicly acknowledge before the world that the great lessons of our order are all taken from Thy word.

We as an order are seeking to exemplify in our lives the teachings of Thy word as to Friendship, Love and Truth.

We thank Thee for the undying influence of a great and true man such as the famous Odd Fellow, whom we honor today.

We have come to dedicate a window in this Memorial Building to his memory and we pray that this Memorial, though it be silent, yet may it speak to generations yet to come of the lessons of Friendship, Love and Truth, which were exemplified in the life of our departed brother, Rutherford B. Hayes. And may our characters taking inspiration from such a life be true to the principles of our beloved order which are based on Thy word. This we ask in the name of Thy Son. Amen.

The chairman then introduced M. G. Thraves, Past Grand of Fremont, who was a personal friend of Rutherford B. Hayes and was Secretary of the lodge at the time that Gen. Hayes passed through all the highest offices of the lodge and became a Past Grand. In speaking of Brother Rutherford B. Hayes, Mr. Thraves eloquently said in part:

MR. THRAVES' ADDRESS.

*Sisters and Brothers of the Odd Fellows and Fellow Citizens:*

In behalf of the Odd Fellows of our lodge, the brothers of the order in Sandusky county, throughout the state, nation and

world, I wish to take this opportunity to show our appreciation and express our admiration, love and esteem on this rare occasion for our deceased brother, Rutherford B. Hayes.

This fine Memorial Building, containing Brother Hayes' library, relics and curios, is a monument to the intelligence, patriotism and the high appreciation of every citizen within the great state of Ohio.

I know that I am expressing the sentiment of every Odd Fellow within the sound of my voice, and every member of our order in the state, when I say that the 2,500,000 Odd Fellows of the world, appreciate the great sacrifices, the unselfish work of those through whom it became possible for us to have this beautiful building to be located here, which will always be the pride of our city and county and state.

With twenty-five years of experience with libraries and library building, and without fear of successful contradiction, I am here to say that there is no private library in the state that measures up in any manner to this library, quantity and quality considered.

It contains historical data, manuscripts and curios, unable to be found anywhere. Men of high education, and historical turn of mind have traveled thousands of miles across both oceans to delight and revel in this golden mine of research.

All this and more, the efforts, energy and foresight, of a life time of Brother Hayes, and his children is a free gift to the people of Ohio and of the nation.

On behalf of the Odd Fellows I wish to express our sincere thanks to Col. Webb C. Hayes and through him to the rest of the family, for this magnificent gift. A value in a conservative financial estimate would reasonably be worth at least a half million dollars.

There are many other things that might be mentioned in this connection that are within my own personal knowledge, of which I would like to speak at this time but will suffice it to say that Col. Webb C. Hayes is ever alert for the best interests of our community and never permits an opportunity to pass to put Fremont and the state of Ohio upon the map.

It is a well known fact that he is personally acquainted with



more public men, and men that do things in our nation than any other citizen of the state.

I feel it a privilege, as well as a pleasant duty in behalf of our order, and citizens to publicly thank Senator T. A. Dean for his successful efforts in securing the necessary legislation to make this Memorial Building possible.

I also wish to express our appreciation to ex-Governor Judson Harmon for the interest he manifested in behalf of the Memorial Building.

As historian of Croghan Lodge No. 77, I. O. O. F., I find the following facts.

Croghan Lodge No. 77, I. O. O. F. was instituted February 5, 1847, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio.

The charter members of the lodge were N. S. Cook, D. H. Hershey, W. M. Starks, B. W. Lewis and A. E. Wood.

The first officers of the lodge were elected February 5, 1847.

N. S. Cook, Noble Grand.

D. H. Hershey, Vice Grand.

W. M. Starks, Secretary.

R. W. Lewis, Treasurer.

The first brother to present a petition for membership in the lodge was John Smith, and on Feb. 5, 1847, he was initiated.

The second meeting, Feb. 13, 1847, John Bell, John M. Smith, A. Coles, J. B. Smith, Charles Fitch and L. B. Otis were initiated into the order.

The lodge prospered and was busy every night conferring the degree on new members.

Sept. 15, 1849, the application of Rutherford B. Hayes was presented and referred to a committee of E. I. Orton, L. S. Foulk and W. B. Kridler. The lodge then adjourned to meet in special session Monday evening, Sept. 17, 1849, at which meeting Grand Master Glen, of Grand Lodge of Ohio initiated Rutherford B. Hayes into the order and instructed him in all the degrees, brother Hayes being the forty-third member.

The first office held by Brother R. B. Hayes in the lodge was on Oct. 6, 1849, when he was appointed right supporter to the Noble Grand, John L. Greene, Brother C. R. McCulloch acting in the Vice Grand chair at this time.



MRS. LUCY WEBB HAYES.

From portrait by Daniel Huntington. Presented to the White House by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Accepted by President Garfield, 1881. A copy of this portrait by Carl Rakemann hangs in the Hayes Memorial Building.

Nov. 19, 1849, R. B. Hayes was duly installed in this office which he surrendered on his removal to Cincinnati, the same year. On his return to Fremont in 1873, he re-joined Croghan Lodge.

Brother C. R. McCulloch who died a few years ago, was the last surviving member of our lodge that belonged at the time Brother Hayes was initiated into the order.

He was a brother whose spirit was filled with the milk of human kindness. His hand was always administering benefactions to his fellow men. In the councils of the lodge he was wise, prudent and generous. His opinion was sought for and relied upon in all emergencies. At the time of his death, he was chairman of the local committee of Odd Fellows, appointed to secure for Fremont the Odd Fellows' Orphans' Home for the state of Ohio.

After filling the highest office in the gift of the greatest people on earth he returned to the rank and file, a true type of the American citizen, in the broadest and noblest sense, and engaged in the mission of doing good to humanity.

He visited the sick, relieved the downtrodden and distressed, and did everything within his power to educate and live up to the standard of mankind.

General Hayes was ever kind, true and unselfish in all his dealings; a man of the most exalted character, a soldier of distinction, a patriot, and a statesman.

His personal history is a part of the history of the Union; in honoring him we honor ourselves.

During the decade in Cincinnati he was also an active member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which he had joined at Lower Sandusky. He was in frequent requisition for lectures before various lodges of the Odd Fellows, and the diary mentions with natural pride the applause and prominence that came to him therefrom:

"Last evening I rejoined Croghan lodge I. O. O. F. I belonged to it when I left Fremont in 1849, almost 33 years ago. I have long been satisfied that they were in many ways very useful. Leaving out the beneficial feature, which is certainly valuable, the social and educational elements are excellent. All descriptions of reputable people are here brought together and



instructed in the orderly management of public business. All are on their best behavior, a fraternal friendship is cultivated, virtuous and temperate habits are encouraged, and the best of our social instincts are called into play. The festive organizations, convivial clubs, and the like are not safe places of resort for all natures. No man can be worse for the associations of Odd Fellowship and their kindred organizations. Most men will be made better. With this perhaps too moderate estimate of the society, I am glad to unite with it again.”—(Diary January 1, 1882).

At the conclusion of Mr. Thraves' historical address the chairman introduced Hon. Ivor Hughes, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ohio, of Columbus, who was a lifelong warm personal friend of Rutherford B. Hayes.

ADDRESS OF IVOR HUGHES.

*Members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Friends:*

I come to your beautiful little city of Fremont from my home in the capital of our state to join with you in the dedication of this beautiful edifice erected to the memory of him who was great in everything that constitutes true greatness, true manhood.

On the 30th day of May in the year 1878, there gathered in the city of Paris, France, one of the largest assemblages of men and women that had ever before that time convened for a like purpose in that or any other city of the civilized world. In that vast audience were to be found many of the great men and women not only of France but of many other of the civilized countries of the globe. They had assembled to pay tribute to the memory of a distinguished Frenchman of whose death the occasion was the one hundredth anniversary.

The speaker was Victor Hugo, another great man. The opening words of his address were: “Men and women of France, one hundred years ago today a man died.” Had the speaker uttered not another word he would in that concise sentence have paid to the memory of the dead the highest compliment that it is possible to express or pay to the living or the dead. Just pause a moment for thought as to how comprehensive that expression is, “A man died.” Think for a moment how



much those words involve—"A man." Today, my friends, as I look back over a period of almost a quarter of a century to the 17th day of January, 1893, from what I personally knew of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, I feel fully and safely warranted in adopting the words of Victor Hugo on the occasion to which I have referred, and in saying to you that when our friend and brother in whose memory we assemble here today, departed this life "A man died."

He possessed all of the qualities, the characteristics of true manhood. He was an honest man, honest with himself, honest with his fellow men. He was patriotic, brave and fearless in defense of what he believed to be right. When from the cannon's mouth there came the sudden fearful sound of fratricidal war, he hesitated not, at the call of his country, he buckled on his sword, shouldered his musket, and with brave heart, true patriotism and unflinching loyalty entered the service of his country, not for three months or a year, but for the whole war, not for glory, not for any temporal honor that might come to him, no such motives found lodgment in his true American heart; no, no, he went to the front, entered the thickest of the fight with the loyal intent and purpose of helping hand down to posterity an undivided country, and an unblemished flag.

Were he here today to talk to you he would admonish you that he only is a true American, who is ever willing and ready to defend our flag, no matter from whence comes the hand uplifted against it. Methinks that in the stillness of this sacred hour, I hear his spirit-voice saying to you and to me, "Stand by the flag." Watch over it with jealous care; frown down any and all suggestions that would take from its glory, ever stand ready to maintain its dignity with your life's blood if necessary. From this man's example let us take lessons for our guidance in life. He was true to every trust. He was elevated by his fellow-countrymen to many positions of honor and trust both in private and public life, but after all we honored ourselves most in honoring him.

On the tented field, in the halls of legislation, as chief executive of our state, as president of our nation, in every position of trust and responsibility to which he was called, he discharged

the duties thereof honorably, and with the highest degree of fidelity.

To his friends and neighbors, to all who knew him best, his life is a happy, pleasant, instructive volume. It is a book on every page of which appears the impression of a well spent, a noble life, from and by which we are reminded that—

“His memory is the shrine  
Of pleasant thoughts soft as the scent of flowers;  
Calm as on windless eve the sun’s decline;  
Sweet as the song of birds among the flowers;  
Rich as a rainbow with its hues of light;  
Pure as the moonbeams on an autumn night.”

After he had served his country in public life, with that true modesty characteristic of great men, he returned here to devote the remaining years of his life to the work of philanthropy and education. To you my brother Odd Fellows he gave much of his time and labor. He was an Odd Fellow in spirit and in truth. Brother Hayes’ influence as an Odd Fellow has gone forth, and that influence will continue to live, doing honor to the noble manhood that exerted it, during an active and useful life. Though we are deprived of his kind, genial companionship, though bereft of the benefit of his wise counsel, though there is lost to us the advantage of his aid and kind sympathy, and the inspiration of his presence, notwithstanding all these great and significant losses, there is left to us the rich and lasting legacy of his noble example; and, therefore, as we sit here with bowed heads, sorrowful hearts and tearful eyes asking the question—

“And is he dead, whose glorious mind,  
Lifts thine on high?”

There is suggested to us the happy, peaceful answer that—

“To live in hearts we leave behind,  
Is not to die.”

No, my brothers, our brother Hayes is not dead, neither will he be so long as you and I, or any of those who knew him, live. His name and his life will continue to exist as long as we live;

yes, even until the last of those who knew him on earth shall be called to "The silent halls of death." He will need no monument of bronze or polished marble shaft to keep alive the recollection of his busy life. The Odd Fellows who knew him will continue to remember him as long as an unimpaired mentality is left to them.

Brother Hayes was one of the members of our great Order, of whom it can truthfully be said:

"Such men die not, but on the arms of love,  
We who have felt their power and knew their care,  
Lift them to brighter skies, and fairer scenes,  
Beyond the reach of earthly toil and fear."

Did time permit, I might point out the noble, worthy footprints which he has left "on the sands of time," footprints in which we may tread with honor to ourselves and benefit to the Order. It will well repay us to carefully study his life and make an honest effort to emulate his worthy, rich example. As a husband and father he was kind, affectionate, and indulgent; as a friend he was both loyal and true; as a citizen he was patriotic; as an Odd Fellow he practiced the principles of Friendship, Love and Truth, exemplifying in his daily life a full realization and perfect understanding of the true, fraternal relationship which the Creator intended should exist between the members of the human family.

True, his earthly life and presence are no more, but in the sacred, silent chambers of our memories, the example of his life will ever remain as a legacy of priceless worth.

Interested though he was in many walks of life, he more than all others loved the Order which we here represent. His genial and kind nature seemed in perfect harmony with the grand and great lessons of our beloved Order. His name will be revered and many a kindly act of his, many a cheerful word will be the subject of grateful remembrance.

His fidelity and devotion to our Fraternity was no heartless and halfway service. It was the full, free unstinted love of a heart warm with affection baptized with the spirit of a noble humanity.

"We'll not forget thee, we who stay,  
To work a little longer here;  
Thy name, thy faith, thy love shall lie  
On memory's page all bright and clear.  
And when o'er wearied with the toil  
Of life, our heavy limbs shall be,  
We'll come and one by one lie down  
Upon dear mother earth with thee."

My brothers, surrounded though we are on this occasion with sad memories, there is in the thoughts that present themselves rich food for reflection, as we recall the lives of those who have "gone before." In thinking over their lives let us draw from them lessons that will be beneficial to us in our every day life. Let us make an honest, earnest effort to live so that our pathways shall be strewn with happy recollections and pleasant memories.

"So live that when thy summons comes to join  
The innumerable caravan that moves  
To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take  
His chamber in the silent halls of death,  
Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,  
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed  
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave  
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Thus did our departed brother live, and though his frail tabernacle of clay has been gathered to its kindred dust, the brilliant legacy of noble deeds, of faithful labors, of domestic affection, of official integrity, will survive the grave, and transmit immortal blessings through the cycles of infinite change.

Survived by living and loving witnesses of his virtue and his worth, we as friends and brothers pause for a brief moment to add this tribute to his memory.

"The night dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,  
Shall brighten with verdure, the grave where he sleeps,  
And the tear that we shed, though in silence it rolls,  
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls."



## DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

Governor Frank B. Willis was the first of Tuesday's distinguished guests to arrive. Thomas J. Maxwell joined him at Fostoria, and at Bradner they were met by John M. Sherman in his closed car and hurried to Spiegel Grove.

U. S. Senator Atlee Pomerene and Congressman A. W. Overmyer were met at Fostoria at 9:23 a. m. by R. J. Christy, Emery Lattanner, W. E. Lang and Dell Cushman, in the latter's new National car.

Ex-Governor James E. Campbell and a number of the officers and trustees of the Archæological and Historical Society were met at the F. & F. station at 12:30 by Judge W. B. McConnell, Hon. James G. Hunt and Homer Sherman and taken immediately to the Grove.

Capt. A. O. Baumann, commanding Co. K, 6th Inf. Ohio National Guard, sent firing squads to the cemeteries and, with the remainder of his company, pitched his shelter tents and company mess-tent in Spiegel Grove and remained on duty till the close of the afternoon exercises. They were especially efficient in passing the crowd of school children through the Memorial Building, and received with proper military courtesies the Governor of Ohio, Hon. F. B. Willis, and later in the day the Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, whom they escorted from the Buckland gateway to the residence in Spiegel Grove.

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and Mrs. Baker were met at the 1:20 N. Y. C., by Col. Webb C. Hayes, Thomas A. Dean, H. C. DeRan, James G. Hunt, Judge W. B. McConnell, R. J. Christy, Hon. A. W. Overmyer and others, and escorted to the Grove in Judge McConnell's car.

Mrs. Baker was taken in charge by Mrs. Webb C. Hayes, Mrs. C. R. Truesdall, Mrs. M. Holderman, and Mrs. Louis A. Dickinson, following in the Hayes car to the Grove.

Along the line of march through the Grove the secretary was saluted by Captain Sayles' Maccabee rifle company drawn up along the driveway.

Both of these incidents very much impressed the Secretary of War and were greatly appreciated by him. In each instance he

very graciously doffed his hat in recognition of the honor thus paid him. When it was suggested to him that these were the boys who would help him in Mexico in case the situation came to that, he very earnestly and seemingly sadly remarked, "Yes, yes, I know, but we hope and pray they will not be needed."

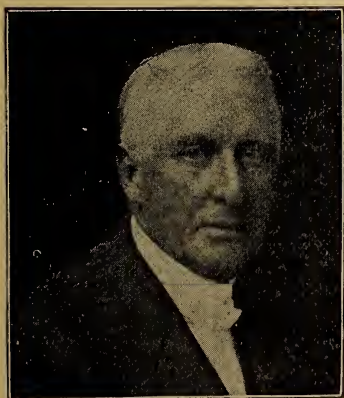
Immediately upon the arrival of Secretary Baker the real dedication of the Memorial, the Grove and the Mansion was begun.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Gathered about the speakers' stand Tuesday afternoon on the spacious lawn fronting the noble Hayes mansion in far-famed Spiegel Grove, a vast multitude listened with rapt attention to the eloquent program of prayer and speech, song and music, which dedicated the magnificent memorial erected by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society to perpetuate the memory of Ohio's most illustrious son, Rutherford B. Hayes, 19th president of the United States, 1877-1881. The meeting was called to order by Pres. G. F. Wright, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WRIGHT.

*My Fellow Citizens:*



The dedication here today of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum, erected in the Spiegel Grove State Park, will serve to perpetuate the memory of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, whose services were preeminently valuable in the Union Army during the War for the Union; in Congress, as a representative from his State; in the office of Governor of Ohio (to which he was elected three times); and as the nineteenth President of the United States. An additional interest in this occasion is given by

the coincidence that Spiegel Grove, which by dedication becomes the property of the State, to be preserved as a Park perpetuating the memory of President Hayes, also in some degree perpetuates the name of William Henry Harrison, the first Ohio President.

Through these grounds may still be traced the trail over which General Harrison led his army in 1813 to the decisive victories on land which preceded and followed that of Perry on Lake Erie; while an impressive gateway to the Grove does due honor to this distinguished citizen of the State and to his brave and noble army.

The event which we now celebrate in the completion of this beautiful building and in setting it apart with its invaluable library and its marvelous collection of historical relics, together with the opening of Spiegel Grove as a public park, may well arouse the patriotism of the whole nation. Long before the army of 1813 passed through these grounds, the aboriginal inhabitants of America had been in the habit of threading their way under its majestic trees on the trail leading from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River. Almost in sight of where we now stand, also, is the monument to Major Croghan and his gallant band who a short time before Perry's Victory, defended Fort Stephenson against an overwhelming force of British and Indians, and compelled General Proctor to withdraw, thus saving Ohio from invasion.

It is an interesting coincidence that this center of historic interest was in early life chosen as his residence by Rutherford Birchard Hayes, who by his preeminent qualities, both military and civil, rose to the highest position which a citizen of the United States may hope to attain. Of the deeds of this most distinguished citizen of Fremont the orator of the day will speak. It remains for me only to give a brief history of Spiegel Grove and the building which we now dedicate.

When about the middle of the last century, Spiegel Grove was chosen for the Hayes' family residence it was completely covered with a primeval forest. A space in the center, sufficient to let in sunlight and to afford a beautiful and spacious lawn, was cleared, and the future home erected upon it. In later years

additions were made until it assumed its present stately proportions. The original Grove consists of about twenty-five acres, all within the two square miles of the old Indian Free City, deeded to the United States in 1786 by treaty, and now known as Fremont. Through the generosity, filial devotion and public spirit of a son, Colonel Webb C. Hayes, who had come into possession of the property, the whole tract was offered to the State as a public park in memory of his parents. His deed simply required its maintenance as a State park and:

“That the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society should secure the erection upon that part of Spiegel Grove heretofore conveyed to the State of Ohio for a State Park, a suitable fireproof building, on the site reserved opposite the Jefferson Street entrance, for the purpose of preserving and forever keeping in Spiegel Grove all papers, books and manuscripts left by the said Rutherford B. Hayes \* \* \* which building shall be in the form of a Branch Reference Library and Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and the construction and decoration of the said building shall be in the nature of a memorial also to the soldiers, sailors, and pioneers of Sandusky County; and suitable memorial tablets, busts and decorations indicative of the historical events and patriotic citizenship of Sandusky County shall be placed in and on said building, and said building shall forever remain open to the public under proper rules and regulations to be hereafter made by said Society.”

The Legislature of Ohio generously appropriated \$50,000. Of this, \$40,000 was used toward the building and \$10,000 was for paving the streets surrounding Spiegel Grove. Impressive entrances to the grounds, through gateways bordered with massive walls of granite boulders, were constructed by Colonel Hayes. Two of these gateways are between immense cannon erected on end and inscribed, in the one case to the memory of the French and British Explorers, and the Soldiers of the War of 1812 who passed over the Harrison Trail; and in the other to the soldiers of Sandusky County who served in the War with Mexico and the War for the Union. The bodies of President and Mrs. Hayes were transferred to the beautiful knoll in the Grove, together with



the modest monument which President Hayes before his death had erected, in Oakwood Cemetery, of Vermont granite, from the quarries near his father's birthplace. Colonel Hayes has expended in increasing the attractions of the Grove and the buildings in it, together with its endowment, about \$100,000 in cash. This with adjoining real estate and the value of the Hayes Memorial Library represents by fair valuation a quarter of a million dollars, which becomes the property of the State, entrusted to the care of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

As pilgrims come to this sacred spot from far and near they cannot fail to be impressed with the importance of the historical events which are here commemorated, and with the debt which we owe to the heroic men who did so much here both to obtain and to preserve the liberties of our country. With Major Croghan in the nearby Fort Stephenson Park they will, in imagination, await the psychological moment when the order comes to let loose the charge from "Old Betsy" that was to destroy the British forces that were making their final assault. With eager steps they will march with General Harrison and his army, through the southern gateway, along the old Indian trail, as he hastens from his headquarters at Fort Seneca to embark, at the portage of Port Clinton, upon Perry's victorious ships, to be landed in Canada for the triumphant victory of the Thames. Through the western gateway, they will be thrilled by the thought of the heroes that from this county fell in the Mexican War and in the War for the Union, and by the memory of General McPherson, the highest in rank and command to fall upon the field of battle in the War for the Union. At the grave of President Hayes and in this memorial building a flood of memories will come as they recall his gallantry on the field of battle, his wise administration of the government of his native State, and of the transcendent service which he rendered in the face of violent opposition and abuse as president of the United States to restore that loyalty and good feeling which we now witness in such full degree between the warring sections of fifty years ago. All these are monuments to remind us of the extreme and unselfish devotion of private interests to the public good which are shown only

by soldiers and statesmen of the highest rank. Here may we come in increasing numbers to devote ourselves anew to the service of our country and our common humanity.

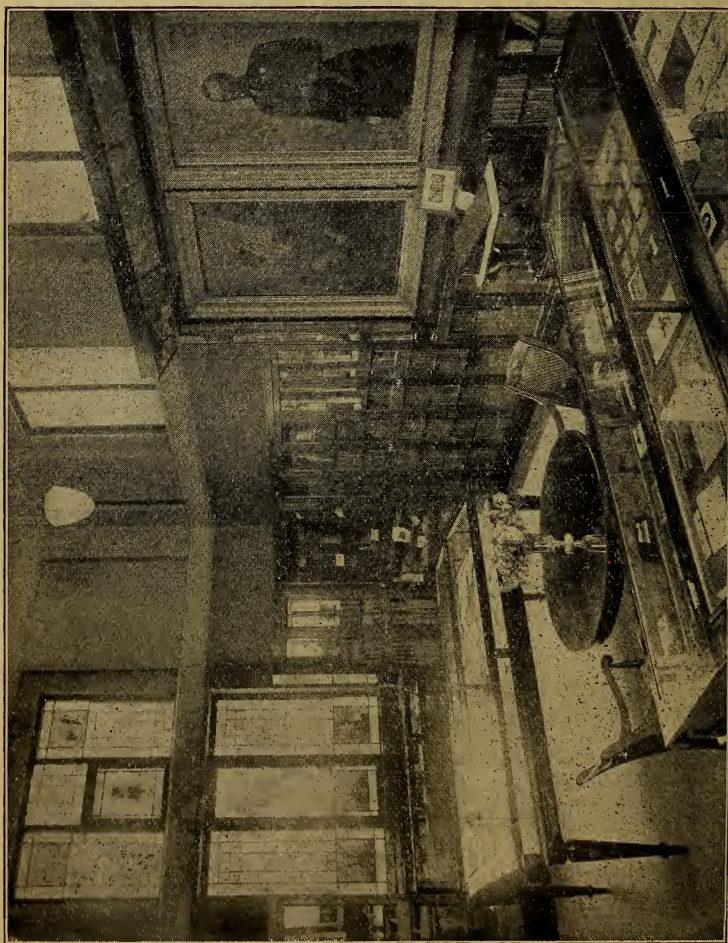
President Wright then introduced the Rev. J. C. Roberts, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, of Fremont, who delivered this invocation:

"Our Heavenly Father we praise Thee for all the things that tell us of Thy presence in the earth. We thank Thee for this day. The day when we remember those who have made possible the spirit of this hour. This day when we carry the flowers Thou hast made and reverently lay them on the graves of the men who died that the nation might live.

We praise Thee for the life of the Republic. Thou hast led us thus far, and we believe Thou wilt lead us to the end of the journey. We would not be unmindful of the lives of all great national leaders. We are especially grateful this day for the life and service of our own Rutherford Birchard Hayes. The simplicity, consistency, fidelity and devotion of his life appeal to every American. May the mantle of his patriotism fall on every one here assembled.

We must ever praise Thee for the noble life of our very own Lucy Webb Hayes, first lady of the land, as noble as the President. More than any other woman in America she has lifted the stainless white banner of devoted motherhood, faithful wifehood, pure social life, and unswerving fidelity to the noblest ideals of Christian womanhood. She has lifted every woman to higher ideals. The memory of her faultless life leaves a halo on the brow of womanhood.

We thank Thee today for the generosity of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, the honored son of our first citizen. For his noble and most generous wife, who has joined him in making possible this hour. The benefits of their united giving will bless not only the nation and the State, but every citizen of Fremont for all the years. Bless, we pray Thee today, the rich gifts that have been laid by these hands on the altar of the State, and in the trembling hand of the sick and suffering of humanity. May the hand of the world's Savior rest in blessing on the filial and patriotic devotions of material values.



EAST LIBRARY ROOM OF THE HAYES MEMORIAL.



Bless, we pray, the Republic of which we are a part. Be with all who are in places of leadership. Guide the Nation through all dangers to a safe harbor. Help us to become to all nations the truest expression of the divine program for human government.

We ask all in the name of Jesus Christ who has given us the ideals upon which all lasting human civilizations must stand. Amen."

"The Star Spangled Banner" was then sung by the Col. George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R., and the Fremont Church Choirs (who were seated on a specially constructed platform to the right of the speakers' stand), and led by Prof. Alfred Arthur, leader of the 23d Regiment Band; accompanied by the Woodman Band.

President Wright then introduced his Honor, Mayor George Kinney, of Fremont, who gave the following address of welcome:

ADDRESS OF MAYOR GEORGE W. KINNEY.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, through and by whose grand achievements and devotion to duty we are able to dedicate this magnificent memorial — this historic mansion — this matchless grove — this place of beauty — to the sacred memory of Rutherford B. Hayes, I bid you welcome.

To all you aged soldiers of the War for the Union who were his allies in war and his comrades in peace, who come here to evidence your love and devotion to your old commander, I bid you welcome.

To all you honorable gentlemen, representatives of this great nation and state who honor us by your presence in this dedicatory service to the memory of one of the noblest of America's great men, I bid you welcome.

To all other organizations and associations, and especially the Odd Fellows, of which he was an active and devoted member for fifty years — some of you have known him all these years, yet none knew him but to love, and none named him but to praise, and any and all of you come to express your love, respect and admiration for your townsman and your friend, I bid you welcome.



The thing we dedicate here today has not been erected as a temporary expedient, but will stand as a monument for all time to the glory of this society, this state, and the distinguished dead. It will serve as a perpetual reminder to your children's children of the many kind acts done, the many kind words spoken by this noble man and still more noble woman, whose ashes lie at rest in this consecrated ground.

It will arouse inspirations and aspirations and create ideals for the young they can never forget. May its influence go with them through life and when aged and gray, may they be truthfully able to say:

"Still over these scenes my memory walks  
And fondly broods with miser care;  
Time the impression but stronger make  
As streams their channels deeper wear."

We are not unmindful of the jewels placed in our keeping this day. By erecting this memorial building of the everlasting rock, and placing such priceless treasures therein of books and parchments, you have made this a city of refuge for future scholars — a Mecca for future ages, for which we are indeed deeply grateful.

History is always tardy to do justice to the great—it is too soon for his eulogy — too soon for his history — but a future age will render the honor and glory to him which has been unjustly withheld by this.

Possessed of the wisdom of the present and the past — he knew how to become great without ceasing to be virtuous — fame should be earnest in her joy, and proud of such a son. He fought, but not for love of strife — he struck but to defend — he never became estranged from any man before he sought to be his friend.

He stood the firm, the wise, the patriot sage—he cherished his neighbor, he loved his country, and revered his God.

When time shall have come, and come it will, that the historians will have recatalogued the galaxy of America's greatest men, you will find written at the poll, or very near the poll, the fair fame and sacred name of R. B. Hayes.

Once again I bid you all a solemn and cordial welcome, and

ask each and every one of you to register here on this consecrated spot a solemn vow to preserve this nation forever and forever to the American — peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must, but for America, America forever and forever.

Mr. Charles R. Williams, of Princeton, biographer of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, then delivered the following address:

ADDRESS OF CHARLES R. WILLIAMS.

We are met today to signalize the formal dedication of the Hayes Memorial building. There has been no occasion like this in all the history of our beloved country. It is made possible by the gracious cooperation of filial affection and worthy public appreciation, for which I recall no parallel in our annals. By deed of gift, a few years ago, Colonel Webb C. Hayes conveyed to the state, for the benefit of the Archæological and Historical Society, this beautiful historic grove, through which ran the famous Indian trail by which William Henry Harrison marched his forces to Lake Erie, and whose ancient oaks had sheltered savage wigwams and been lighted by the bivouac fires of hardy frontier soldiers of 1812. The gift was on condition that the society should procure the erection of a suitable fireproof building for the permanent preservation of the books and papers and personal belongings of President and Mrs. Hayes. Of course the society, of which Mr. Hayes was long president, and which has done so much to gather, to investigate, and to preserve records and documents and objects of historical and archæological significance, was rejoiced to accept the gift and to undertake the trust. And the state, through legislature and governor — both, as it happened, Democratic at the time — was not slow to manifest its appreciation of the gift and to do its share to make the gift secure, rightly esteeming its patriotic purpose and its large and permanent worth. To Senator T. A. Dean, of Fremont, for his effective presentation of the cause before the legislature, we should not fail, on this day of rejoicing, to give special credit and praise. He saw clearly, he spoke persuasively — for the honor of Ohio's greatest President, for the dignity and glory of the state.



CHARLES RICHARD WILLIAMS.

So, as I said a moment ago, in dedicating this beautiful structure of Ohio stone and enduring bronze, built to commemorate the life and public services of Ohio's pre-eminent citizen, we are celebrating today the finished result of the gracious co-operation of filial affection and worthy public appreciation. Through the long future, this fair grove, with its immemorial trees and trees of sentimental appeal, rich in its associations with

—“old, unhappy, far-off things  
And battles long ago.”

embowering the spacious mansion, still redolent of the unclouded domestic felicity of which it was the centre, and surcharged with memories of gracious and abounding hospitality, of numberless patriotic gatherings in which great and famous men had part, of peaceful communing of its master with good books and devoted friends, of self-sacrificing benevolent activities, will remain, undesecrated by vandal industry, uncontaminated by commercial exploitation. Under the protecting ægis of the society and the state, Spiegel Grove—haunt and habitation of good spirits—will abide in perpetuity, a grateful source of pleasure and recreation to this community; a shrine for patriotic visitors from afar, who shall have formed true judgment of the noble part in our history enacted, through long and strenuous years, by the man whose home this was. Here men of remote generations shall see the very surroundings, the very house with its familiar furnishings and objects of use and ornament, in which abode, with his gracious and beloved consort, the President, whose wisdom of administration brought the Civil War epoch of our national life to a just and happy conclusion. And in this Memorial building they shall see the books he used and loved, the manuscripts that record his thoughts, and articles innumerable of utility or taste which give some hint of his varied interests and of his manifold activities.

Here, too, in close association, they shall behold intimate memorials of that rare and beautiful woman whose influence and inspiration was felt in all that he thought and did; whose character and life are a perpetual honor and example to American womanhood. Hither students of American history will resort



for study and investigation, and here they shall find treasures of private and personal information to reward their search, and to clarify their conclusions touching the measures and the men of a momentous period.

There is special propriety in conducting this service on this particular day. It is the day set apart for recalling the deeds and honoring the memory of the men who served and saved the country when civil war threatened its destruction. Among those men, conspicuous for his gallantry and for his devotion to the country's cause, was the man whose high worth this building recognizes and commemorates. Well acquainted as most of us here are with the facts of his life, we shall do well for a little while to ponder his career and to seek from his example to draw some inspiration to lofty thought and civic virtue. Of course, no extended survey of his many-sided life is possible, even if it were desirable, on an occasion like this. It is sufficient for my purpose to touch upon his distinctive qualities and achievements, and to note the principles that governed his thought and conduct.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He was of pure New England parentage, of English and Scotch descent. His American ancestors were sturdy pioneers; honest, wholesome, industrious, God-fearing folk, doing faithfully their duty to family and state; and when the war for independence came, leaping whole-heartedly to the support of the American cause. The best part of his heritage from his clean-living New England forebears was a sound physical constitution, a clear and active mind, a tradition of conscientious rectitude of conduct, and a scrupulous sense of duty. What better endowment could one desire for a lad, provided he have the environment and opportunity to develop his powers, and provided he have the will to make the most of himself? And all this young Hayes had. There was nothing in the least precocious or out of the usual in his boyhood and youth. He was fond of sports; he was fond of the open-air life and adventures with rod and gun which normal lads of the country enjoy. But with all this he was conscientiously industrious in his pursuit of knowledge; and in his college years, boy as he still was, he began to be conscious of his latent abilities and to seek by rigid self-examination and

appraisal of defects to follow the Socratic injunction, "Know thyself." This self-scrutiny, this weighing of his own powers in comparison with others, did not result in egotism or self-conceit; it only made him see more clearly his own limitations and spurred him to greater effort for intellectual growth and attainment. And with this, too, his character was strengthening into self-mastery and self-reliance, and he was coming to distinct, clear-minded conclusions on fundamental questions of life and conduct; on what were the just aims of ambition; on what constituted true success in human endeavor.

"As far back as memory can carry me," he wrote at nineteen, just entering his senior year at Kenyon, "the desire of fame was uppermost in my thoughts, but I never desired other than honorable distinction. The reputation which I desire is not that momentary eminence which is gained without merit and lost without regret. Give me the popularity which runs after, not that which is sought for. Let me triumph as a man or not at all. Defeat without disgrace can be borne, but laurels which are not deserved sit like a crown of thorns on the head of their possessor. It is, indeed, far better to deserve honors without having them, than to have them without deserving them."

In these brief sentences of youthful meditation and aspiration we have not only a noble confession of faith, a noble resolution of soul integrity, but also a luminous prophecy of the attitude toward public honors and distinctions that during his long life should characterize their author. For never, throughout his career, did Mr. Hayes seek any public office, or ask for any promotion, or endeavor to gain any distinction or honor in any one of the many social or philanthropic organizations of which he was a member. Offices, honors, promotions, distinctions sought him out and were pressed upon him. Often they were accepted with extreme reluctance, but once accepted, the duties they involved were performed with conscientious assiduity. Surely, if ever a man did, he had the realization of his boyhood's wish. He won "honorable distinction." He enjoyed "the popularity which runs after, not that which is sought for." He, indeed, attained "triumph as a man."

In all the years of his law practice, whatever the demands of

his professional engagements or the encroachments on his time and energy of social life and of his increasing participation in political effort and civic enterprises, he adhered steadfastly to his projects for self-discipline and self-culture, and sought ever to enlarge the sphere of his knowledge. He was always reading good books; not only books that should amplify his range of information concerning history and jurisprudence and principles of liberty and government, but the great books of pure literature which should quicken his imagination, elevate his thought, fortify and ennoble his character, and give his spirit fuller and clearer vision. Here is the rule of reading that he laid down for himself in this period; and who could frame a better?

"In general literature, read Burke, Shakespeare and the standard authors constantly, and always have on hand some book of worth not before perused. Avoid occasional reading of a light character. Read always as if I were to repeat it the day afterward."

So, unconsciously, he was schooling his mind and character for the larger duties, the vast responsibilities, which, beyond his wildest dreams of ambition, the future had in store for him.

Being what he was, there could be no doubt how he would feel and what he would do when Rebellion raised its angry crest against our Federal Union. In his diary, intended for no eye but his own, he wrote with calm deliberation: "I would prefer to go into the war if I knew I was to die or be killed in the course of it, than to live through and after it without taking any part in it." There spoke the pure soul of the man. Looking before and after, discerning the country's need and peril, laying aside all personal regard, listening only to the voice of patriotic duty, without hesitation or doubt or fear of consequences, he formed his high resolve, he chose with unfaltering purpose "on whose party he should stand." And into the war he went, and for four years gave heart and soul to its bloody business, doing with all his mind and might every task assigned him, heedless of personal peril and too busy with the work in hand to give a thought to questions of rank or promotion. He was glad to shed his blood that the good cause might prosper. Friends in Cincinnati might nominate him for Congress, if they thought his name would strengthen the Union

ticket, while the tide of war was at flood in the Shenandoah valley. But when they asked him to seek a furlough and come home to make speeches, that was quite another thing. Instantly, with something like indignation at the thought, he wrote: "Your suggestion about getting a furlough to take the stump was certainly made without reflection. An officer fit for duty who at this crisis would abandon his post to electioneer for a seat in congress ought to be scalped. You may feel perfectly sure I shall do no such thing." Let the election go as it might; his duty was with the colors on "the perilous edge of battle."

It was a crisis in the Republican situation in Ohio in 1875 that forced Mr. Hayes from retirement, much against his will, and gave him the unprecedented honor of a third nomination for governor. He had served with credit in congress during the stormy early days of reconstruction. He had been governor two terms — abundant in achievement of permanent value to the commonwealth. Then, refusing to be elected senator by disloyalty to John Sherman, he had retired to Spiegel Grove, intending never again to take a leading part in political life. In 1873 the Democrats had elected William Allen governor by an insignificant plurality. In 1874 they had swept the state in the congressional elections. In 1875 the Republicans, almost despairing of their chances, were yet determined to spare no effort to regain the state. All eyes turned with one accord toward Mr. Hayes, who in his previous campaigns had defeated Ohio's ablest Democratic champions, Allen G. Thurman, and George H. Pendleton; and, despite his persistent refusal to be a candidate before the nominating convention, the convention would hear of no other man. Under the circumstances, he had preforce to yield his personal preference and accept the nomination.

The dominating issue of the campaign was sound money versus Greenbackism — the latter making strong and insinuating appeal to the unthinking masses, suffering from the severe depression which followed the financial crash of 1873. The contest in Ohio was watched with close and anxious attention by the entire nation. Mr. Hayes fought the good fight for sound money, up and down the state, with a vigor and convincing power which compelled victory. This brilliant success made him at once a



national figure; and it was this great achievement more than anything else which caused his party to recognize his fitness for the Presidency, and which in 1876 procured for him the nomination.

I can only allude to the troublous and tumultuous times which followed the election. Through all those bitter months of angry controversy and threatening partisan recrimination, Mr. Hayes preserved unruffled poise and dignity, desirous only that right and justice should prevail, whatever his own fate might be. When the long and rancorous dispute was ended and his title to the Presidency was declared indefeasible, he entered the White House with one sole purpose, to serve the interests of the whole country to the limit of his ability and his opportunity. In his inaugural address he gave voice to the principle which should control his conduct in a sentence which at once became a maxim of political wisdom: "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

The judgment of posterity, I believe, will pronounce Mr. Hayes' administration one of the cleanest, sanest, most efficient administrations in our history. No breath of scandal ever sullied its fair fame. In all its relations, domestic and foreign, honesty, efficiency and sound decisions, coupled with dignity and courtesy, prevailed. And Mr. Hayes has to his enduring credit three achievements of vast and far-reaching consequence. First: He settled for all time the dangerous and perplexing Southern question on a sound and rational basis. Whatever the past sins of the Southern states, the national government, Mr. Hayes saw, could not go on treating those states differently from other states. That seems too obvious to mention now. It was epoch-making in 1877. Second: Mr. Hayes, always a defender of sound money, restored specie payments. He did this, to be sure, under a law passed before he became President, but he had to accomplish his purpose in defiance of a hostile congress and in the face both of wide-spread disbelief in its feasibility and doubt of its wisdom, which only high courage and steadfast determination could have surmounted. The national credit was established on a firmer basis than ever and returning prosperity smiled beneficently upon the land. And, third, he made the first sincere and serious effort to bring about genuine civil service reform. He did not do all he

had hoped to do in this respect. But in the face of incredible obloquy and opposition he took the first courageous step which made possible and soon compelled the adoption of his principles.

In all these great accomplishments he had the active and persistent hostility of powerful influences in his own party. But he was undismayed, serene in the conviction that he was right, and he won in spite of all opposition. The event, he felt confident, would approve the wisdom of his policies and bring the doubters and antagonists to confusion. And his judgment was altogether sound. As I have said elsewhere: "When Mr. Hayes entered upon his term the country was still depressed and suffering from the effects of the severe financial panic of 1873; and his party was discredited, riven by internal dissensions, and on the verge of collapse. When he left the White House, bounding prosperity made glad the hearts of the people, and his party was once more triumphant, confident, aggressive. The wonder is that with a hostile congress, and with his own party disunited in its support of all the great policies to which he was committed by his letter of acceptance and his inaugural address, and which he determinedly pursued — the wonder is that he could accomplish as much as he did. His administration proved and illustrated his own wise maxim that he serves his party best who serves his country best. In the face of the protests, the denunciation, and the malignant enmity of men who had long been leaders of his party, he serenely maintained his course, firmly convinced in his own mind that the policies he was enforcing, instead of wrecking his party, as his detractors angrily prophesied, would bring new strength and new courage to the Republican cause. And the result proved that he was far wiser than his critics."

Mr. Hayes returned gladly to Spiegel Grove when his term as President expired, but not to a life of dignified leisure only. During the twelve years that still remained to him, he devoted all his thought and energy, freely and without reward, to the furtherance of worthy benevolent causes — to the interests of the old soldiers, to education in the South and in the universities of Ohio, to the advocacy of manual training in the public schools, to the amelioration of the condition of the freedmen, and to the great cause of prison reform. In all these fields of effort he was

a leader and not a follower; always an advocate of policies a little in advance of current popular opinion; just as when Governor and President he urged in his messages upon legislature and congress measures of reform and proposals for new legislation which only after his time men gained wisdom to appreciate and to adopt. Detractors and malignant critics might scoff and sneer and seek to belittle his achievements or to deride his proposals, but their silly clamor never provoked him to explanation or defense; never disturbed his equanimity; never embittered his thought. He was willing to let his actions justify themselves, willing to trust the calm judgment of the future to approve the wisdom and the righteousness of his conduct.

The controlling principle of his life was simplicity itself. It was, under all conditions and in all circumstances, to do what he belived to be right. The motto of the Scotch family of Hayes from which he traced his descent, was the single Latin word *Recte*. That is the adverb form of the word that means straight or right. In all his conduct, public and private, Mr. Hayes exemplified that motto. He was "straight" in thought and action; he moved in right lines;; his dealings were void of indirection or equivocation.

Mr. Hayes believed intensely but intelligently in America, in its polity, in its future, in its exalted mission under Divine favor, for the world—for humanity. His was not a blind, unreasoning patriotism. His convictions were based on wide knowledge of history, on prolonged pondering of governmental systems, on thorough understanding of the common people—their modes of thought, their beliefs, their aspirations. He knew

"In what a forge and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors"

of our Ship of State; and he believed sincerely that

"Humanity with all its fears,  
With all its hopes of future years,  
Was hanging breathless on her fate."

And yet he was fully conscious of the faults and defects and dangers of our system, of the constant vigilance necessary to preserve "the jewel of liberty in the house of freedom," of the perils arising from the prodigious concentration of wealth in a few hands and from the clash of contending interests and jealousies of class, of the new duties that new occasions were continually teaching. But he never lost faith in the Republic, never doubted the essential soundness of the people, never despaired that right causes would in the end prevail, if men that saw the right worked on steadily, hopefully, patiently.

In his young manhood, in a letter to his betrothed, he gave striking expression of his fine spirit of optimism, which increasing years and experience could never quench nor qualify: "When I see the immeasurable changes which a century or two have produced," he wrote, "it gives me heart to throw my little efforts in favor of the good projects of the age, however slow their apparent progress. Nothing great is accomplished in a day, but gradually the strong hours conquer all obstacles." Take heart, take heart, O ye of little faith—even ye who through the lurid clouds of the mad and frightful war now devastating Europe seem to hear infernal angels croaking the doom of civilization. For, be assured "Our sins cannot push the Lord's right hand from under"; be assured that, in God's good time, "gradually the strong hours shall conquer all obstacles."

One quality further of Mr. Hayes I must note and emphasize, and that was his love for Fremont, his appreciation of the respect and confidence of her people that he enjoyed, his pride in her growth and prosperity, his interest in all that contributed to her welfare. Here only was his real home, and whenever he was absent from it he longed for the day of his return. He was deeply touched by the public reception given him here by friends and neighbors of all parties after his nomination for the Presidency. As his term was nearing its close, he looked forward, with eager anticipation, "to the freedom, independence and safety of the obscure and happy home in the pleasant grove at Fremont." When, at Cleveland, the sudden attack which was to prove fatal came upon him and he was urged to delay his journey home, he declared: "I would rather die at Spiegel Grove than to live



anywhere else." His regard for Fremont was not confined to mere sentiment. No project for its betterment but had his sympathy, his counsel, his assistance. It is due to his activity and to his generosity that the city has its public parks and its library. For, whatever fame or fortune Fremont may attain, to the country and the world at large it will alway be chiefly notable because it was here that Rutherford B. Hayes had his home.

It will be a perpetual benediction to the people of state and nation that Ohio has erected and will maintain this beautiful building to commemorate the fame and achievements of her great citizen. The future, in my judgment, will increase his fame, will come to a clearer and fuller understanding, and so to a just appreciation of the greatness and value of his achievements. His character and worth shine more resplendent with every fresh contemplation of his career. I can only repeat, by way of peroration, what I have already said elsewhere, and what my added reflection reaffirms and enforces:

"He may not have possessed transcendent intellectual gifts, nor the brilliancy and imaginative power displayed by great orators, but he had, in equipoise and under complete control, all the solid qualities of character and mind which fit a man to win the confidence of his fellows and mark him for their chosen leader. These were a clear and penetrating intelligence, impregnable to the assaults of sophistry; a judgment, cautious and deliberate in action, but when once formed not to be shaken from its conviction; a will that did not waver; sincerity and honesty of mind and act; absolute veracity and candor in speech and conduct; faithfulness in discharging every obligation imposed on him or assumed by him; constant and unquestioning obedience to the commands of duty; a conscience void of offense; a patriotism that rose above party, that was founded on intense faith in the American constitution and an abiding belief in the high mission, under Providence, of America in the world, and that was ready to give his life for his country's welfare; an understanding of the common people—the great masses of his fellow countrymen—and full sympathy with their needs and aspirations; unselfish interest in all wise endeavors for the public good. And with all this he was

"Rich in saving common-sense,  
And, as the greatest only are,  
In his simplicity, sublime."

Surely, we shall be dull indeed of apprehension if we catch no inspiration from his ardor for humanity; if we feel no impulse to emulate the virtues which made his service to the world so great. I, at least, think of him always as of

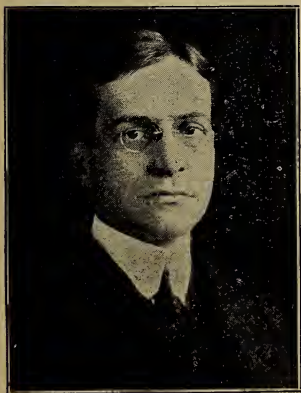
"One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
Sleep to wake."

After a song, the Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, representing the President of the United States, was presented and spoke in part as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. NEWTON D. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR.

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Before leaving Washington last night, I was charged by the President of the United States to convey to you his greetings, and to say that it is a matter of sincere regret to him that he is not able to be here on this significant occasion. He would have paid a tribute not only to the great office in which President Hayes preceded him, but as he is a scholar himself he would have borne a scholar's testimony to the eminent service rendered in that office by Rutherford B. Hayes.



We have been richly favored here today in the address just closed. Dr. Williams, whose biography of President Hayes is and always will be a standard work dealing with that subject, has detailed for us the life of this President from the days of his childhood through the testing years of the civil war, and

into that serene and mellow age of retirement in which the people of Fremont best knew the ex-President. Little, therefore, remains to be added to the tribute which Dr. Williams has paid, but I can perhaps be permitted to recall two incidents in my own life which associated his personality and political fortunes with my own thinking.

The first of these was in 1876, when I was between four and five years of age, living in the town of Martinsburg, W. Va., and though of very tender age, still an extremely ardent political partisan. It was the day of party flag-poles, and the custom throughout the countryside and in all the villages was that the rival parties should erect great poles, and on the top of them place their party emblem. In the public square of my native village, there were erected two such poles, one for Tilden, surmounted by a broom, and one for Hayes, surmounted by a glistening globe. As I was a very earnest Democrat, and was quite sure in all the philosophy of my four years of life that that party represented the truest traditions of the Republic, I naturally was very zealous for the pole surmounted by the broom, and I discovered that when I walked on one side of the square the Democratic pole seemed the taller, while when I walked on the other side of the square, the one below the globe seemed the higher. I, therefore, contracted at that early age the habit of walking around the northwest side of the square whenever my journeys took me through that place, and to this day when I visit Martinsburg, and want to cross the square, I follow the same practice, although the poles have long since been taken down and the broom and the globe disappeared from every memory but mine.

Later, in 1890, I was a student at Johns Hopkins University when Mr. Hayes, then ex-President, came there to make an address before the Historical Seminary of which I was a member. More recent political activities of other men had obscured all my recollections of the period from 1876 to 1880, and I went to hear Mr. Hayes with little else in my mind except the childish recollection of the rivalry of the party poles, but after his address, I asked myself who is this simple and scholarly gentleman, so wise and patriotic and generous? How does it come that I do not know more of his service to his country? And I im-

mediately read his biography, and consulted those American histories which covered the period of his service as a soldier and as a statesman, only to discover that from his earliest youth he had adopted and lived up to high standards of honor and patriotism, that the idea of service to his country was always the dominant idea, that he constantly put behind him advantage and self-seeking, and sought only the place of danger or responsibility, trusting always that if he did his best for his country, his own fortunes could well be permitted to take care of themselves. The struggles of the period before the war between the States and during that terrible conflict developed high capacities, and yet this Ohio soldier emerged from the crowd, became a marked man and conspicuous public servant, rose from the soldier's camp to the Governor's chair and then to the Presidency, the greatest office in our great Republic, and then, after he had fully performed all that could be asked of a citizen, he retired, unspoiled, simple as he was brave, continuing out of office, as a sage philosopher and adviser to his country, the patriotic services he had performed while a trusted and responsible executive. He engaged in no acrimonious disputes. He assaulted none of his successors nor their policies, he remembered no personal animosities, and cherished no envy of those who were still in the active stages of their lives. But, in the midst of a family life sweet and pure, surrounded by a family which could not help becoming serviceable to its country, reared in such an atmosphere, he continued to be scholarly and patriotic, and when he died he left a life unspoiled and untainted, a reputation too large for this beautiful city of Fremont, as large and wide as the nation which he served.

The important thing, however, for us who are here today is the example for our own lives which lies in this life which is under review and discussion. Our words can add little to the historic place which he has achieved in our country's annals, but whether or not his life will achieve the highest good of which it is capable depends upon whether you and I, and others who may be now the citizens of the United States, who bear its burdens and its responsibilities, whose quality determines the quality of



our present day institutions, imitate his virtue and follow his example.

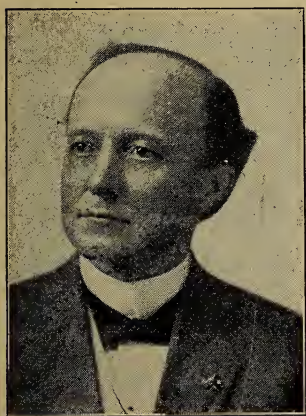
The times have greatly changed since the Presidency of Mr. Hayes. Great as our country then seemed, it is now incomparably greater; its territory has been increased, its population has grown enormously; its influence as a world power is now like the influence of Great Britain, in that it follows the rising sun around the globe. In the meantime, the industrial processes by which the life of the community is sustained are made more intricate. We have emerged from a rural civilization into a machine age. Our commerce and our industry are much more intense. The congestion of our population in great cities and manufacturing places presents new problems. The challenge of this day is as great as the challenge of his day, and the need for patriots and wise men is as great now as when President Hayes made his contribution of service to our country. The question we must ask, therefore, is, are we doing as he did? Are we offering ourselves for America as he offered himself? Are we addressing ourselves to the solution of the problems of our day as he buckled on his sword or took up the statesmen's pen for the solution of the problems which his day presented? I shall not take any answer to these questions. Each of us knows by searching his own mind how far he is worthy to be in any such comparison. Each of us knows whether he spends the larger part of his life fretting about little things or whether he really passes them by and gives his mind to the large issues of welfare and happiness for his country and his fellow-countrymen. Each of us knows whether he is more interested by the hurried daily chronicle of small events which the newspapers present or by serious study of history and politics, in order to equip himself really to be a servant of the Republic. But, I can, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, at least be grateful with you that this splendid memorial has been erected here in Fremont, and that this Grove is hereafter to be consecrated ground, that the memory of the great service of President Hayes and that this beautiful life will be perpetuated here, so that for all time to come as the youth of this city see this place they will have impressed upon their imagination and their memory the

life of the man who from youth to advanced years really served his fellowmen, and such a memory will undoubtedly be an inspiration to them to take a high view of the calling of citizenship and to prepare themselves by study and thought to render such service as is within their capacity and opportunity.

ADDRESS OF U. S. SENATOR POMERENE.

United States Senator Pomerene spoke as follows:

"I am glad to have the opportunity to come to the beautiful city of Fremont to pay a tribute of love and respect to the memory of President and Mrs. Hayes. They had such fine ideals, they were truly Christian in every thought and action. The world is the better for their having lived. President Hayes was a good lawyer, a brave soldier, a faithful Congressman, an efficient Governor, and a distinguished and capable President, but, he was more, he was a good man. Mrs. Hayes was a Christian wife and mother, both were devoted to their friends and especially to those here in Fremont who knew them so long and well.



I want to congratulate the people of Fremont in their successful efforts in preserving Spiegel Grove for this community and for the country at large for all time to come. I congratulate them that they have in their midst Colonel and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes, who have done so much to preserve the works and memories of their father and mother.

This home with its fond memories will be an object lesson to the boys and girls of this county and this state, they will have before them as an object lesson the lives of a man and woman, than whom, this state has produced none better or purer.

As I look over the history of President Hayes, I feel that all his qualities, and there were many of them, his predominating characteristic was his intense love for things American and

as I think of Mrs. Hayes, I could hold her before the world as the ideal wife and mother.

Fremont is a beautiful city of beautiful homes, no finer people are found than reside within her limits, and they have honored themselves by the opportunity they have taken to preserve Spiegel Grove.

And I would be doing violence to my feelings if I did not add a word of appreciation for Senator Dean, who gave his able and enthusiastic support to the legislation necessary to secure Spiegel Grove for the public."

#### LETTERS FROM ABSENTEES.

Former Lieutenant Governor Francis W. Treadway, one of the trustees of the Society, then read the following telegram from Senator Warren G. Harding; and also the following letters from the Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; the Hon. A. D. White, who was appointed Minister to Germany by President Hayes; and the Hon. John W. Foster, who served as Minister to Mexico during the Hayes administration, in those troublous times with Diaz in Mexico, to which the strained relations with Huerta found by President Wilson in 1913 form an almost exact counterpart; and also a letter from United States Senator Nathan Goff, who is the only surviving member of the Hayes administration, in which for a few months he served as Secretary of the Navy.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29, 1916.

COL. WEBB C. HAYES,  
*Fremont, Ohio.*

Let me emphasize my genuine regrets that I am not to add my tribute to the memory of President Hayes at Tuesday's dedication of the Memorial. The combined gentleness and dignity and courage and strength made manifest in the splendid career of President Hayes, builded a loving memorial in the hearts of his countrymen, which I trust the Spiegel Grove Memorial fittingly typifies. It is good to dedicate the Memorial on this day of reverent tribute to the Union defenders, so many of whom he brilliantly led. It is also good to consecrate ourselves anew to the preservation of the Great Heritage he and they bequeathed to us.

W. G. HARDING.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. HAYES:

I received the formal invitation from the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society to attend the dedication of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum in Spiegel Grove, on Decoration Day, May 30th. Mrs. Lansing and I both deeply regret our inability to attend the dedication, and if we had found it possible to do so, we would have been especially gratified to be your guests on that occasion.

With our appreciation and thanks for your attractive invitation, and our regret that we are unable to avail ourselves of it, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

WEBB C. HAYES, ESQ.,  
Fremont, Ohio.

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ANDREW D. WHITE,  
CORNELL UNIVERSITY,  
ITHACA, N. Y.

WEBB C. HAYES, ESQ.,  
*Spiegel Grove,*  
*Fremont, Ohio.*

MAY 20, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. HAYES:

Referring to your letter of May 18, it is a matter of real sorrow with me that I have felt obliged to decline the kind invitation to the opening of the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum. I can think of nothing which I would be more glad to attend in the way of a celebration of any sort than this tribute to your honored father, and that feeling is increased by the fact that a few weeks ago I read his biography and was greatly impressed by it. My opinion regarding him was already very high, for I have regarded him ever since I came to know him as one of the best and most able men I have ever met, one of the best prepared for the highest public duties and who was faithful in the highest degree in his discharge of them. This feeling was strengthened at various times when I heard him deliver public addresses at Lake Mohonk, Cleveland, and elsewhere, and when I read his biography, I became convinced that no nobler and better fitted man had ever held the presidency.

There is one saying of his that ought to be inscribed in letters of gold: The last entry made in his diary before leaving for the war, dated May 15, 1861: "Judge Mathews and I have agreed to go into the service for the war, if possible into the same regiment. I spoke my feelings to him which he said were also his, that this was a just and necessary war, and that it demanded the whole power of the country.



*That I would prefer to go into it if I knew I was to die or be killed in the course of it, than to live through and after it without taking any part in it."*

But, also, I am nearing my eighty-fourth birthday and am more and more obliged to be careful, and on the date you name I have already an engagement with a doctor which has with difficulty been put off once. I should indeed feel it a duty to be present were the circumstances otherwise and were my health stronger, for among all men whom I have met, President Hayes was one of those who most impressed me by the evident sincerity and nobility of his character and by all the qualities which made him a great and true man. A recent reading of his biography has also greatly impressed me as showing the development of the characteristics which led so directly to the high place which he deservedly holds in the annals of our country. I feel that as time goes on his fellow citizens of all parties will recognize more and more his great qualities and that these will emerge from the cloud of calumny which beset him in such wise that his name and fame will be ever more and more honored by the American people. I hope that some day not distant it will be possible for me to make a pilgrimage of duty to this well-deserved tribute to your father, and thank you in person for your kind invitation.

With all good wishes that the commemoration to which you invite me shall be worthy of the man to whom it is given, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

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1323 EIGHTEENTH STREET,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

WEBB C. HAYES, ESQ.,

Fremont, Ohio.

MAY 22, 1916.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th and the card, inviting me to attend the dedication of the Memorial Library and Museum in your father's old home on May 30th.

I should be greatly pleased to unite with his many friends and admirers in honoring your father's memory in the permanent form indicated, but of late my health has not been good and I am not able to travel without serious inconvenience and I could not make the journey without considerable risk.

I have always regarded your father as one of our most useful public men, of clean life and unblemished personality, and have always been proud of having served under him in an administration which was an honor to our country. It is with sincere regret that I will not be

able to render this further mark of my respect and friendship by attending the memorial services on the 30th instant.

Very truly,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

P. S.—I am sending a photograph as requested. I greatly enjoyed reading Williams' excellent biography of your father.

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"CLARKSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA,

June 1, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. HAYES:

I have been quite unwell lately which will account for my failure to write you in reply to your kind favor of the 18th ult. As I did not receive your invitation to be with you at Spiegel Grove on the 30th ult., until after that day was in the past, you will readily understand why you did not hear from me, and also why I was not with you on the occasion that would have afforded me great pleasure to have been a participant in.

I very much regret this and trust that you will understand my seeming indifference, which I beg to assure you was not intended.

With kindest regards,

Most truly yours,

NATHAN GOFF."

In addition to the letters already printed, letters and telegrams of appreciation and regret were received from Ex-Governors Judson Harmon and James M. Cox; Ex-Senator Burton, Ex-Minister Horace N. Allen, Hon. John S. Clarke, U. S. District Judge, Maj. Gen. H. L. Scott, Chief of Staff, U. S. A.; Lieut. Gen. S. B. M. Young, U. S. A., Commander in Chief Loyal Legion; Capt. John P. Nickelson, Recorder in Chief Loyal Legion; Capt. E. A. Montfort, Commander in Chief G. A. R.; Maj. Gen. George W. Goethals, U. S. A., Governor Canal Zone; Maj. Gen. M. I. Luddington, U. S. A.; Brig. Gen. A. L. Mills, U. S. A.; Col. H. O. S. Heistand, U. S. A.; Col. S. M. Foote, U. S. A.; Rear Admiral Chas. E. Clark, U. S. N.; Rear Admiral Harry Knox, U. S. N.; Gen. Robert P. Kennedy, Bishop Wm. A. Leonard, the Mass. Historical Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Society, the Penn. State Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the University of Toronto, the Worcester Poly-

technic Institute, the Brooklyn Institute, the Missouri Historical Society, the Florida State Museum, the president of Tufts College, the National Society of D. A. R., etc.

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN OVERMYER.

Congressman A. W. Overmyer, of the 13th Ohio District who came from Washington, D. C., expressly to take part in the dedicatory exercises, then delivered the following address:



Fortunate indeed are all of us who have been permitted to witness this ceremony today. The occasion, the place, the day, the assemblage, all have been appropriate.

The occasion is appropriate, for we meet to dedicate this splendid memorial, erected by the great commonwealth of Ohio, to one of its most illustrious sons. The place is appropriate for here are the hallowed scenes amid which Hayes spent so much of his mature life which was not devoted to the public service of his country.

The day is appropriate for on this Memorial Day there is no more fitting service that could have been performed than to meet here and recount the deeds and review the life work of one of America's bravest soldiers and one of her most loyal defenders, a soldier who had the courage to fight and the ability to lead others in fighting.

The assemblage is appropriate and such as eminently benefits the occasion, for the President is represented here by a member of his cabinet, an Ohio man; the Senate and House of Representatives are represented here, and representatives of the civil and military authority of the state, the county, and the city; and the people to whom he ever turned a listening ear—the people are here, in masses such as seldom before assembled within the shadows of Spiegel Grove; they are here to bring

their own heartfelt testimony to the occasion; they are here representing all shades of religious and political belief, all ages and conditions of life, all are here as Americans and come to this historic and sacred spot to fraternize with each other in a fresh act of homage to the memory of Rutherford B. Hayes.

Many who are here in this audience knew President Hayes and his devoted wife while they were living, knew them as neighbors, as friends, as members of the same church. To such this must be a wonderful day.

I shall always cherish the memory that, as a young boy, I heard President Hayes deliver an address at a Croghan Day celebration from the old bandstand in the county park before the Court House. I can see him now as I saw him then, a noble-looking man with a kindly face, snow-white beard and hair, but with the vigor of young manhood in his heart.

I do not know what phase of the life of Rutherford B. Hayes appeals to the people the most; but after having read the splendid biography of President Hayes written by the orator of the day, Doctor Williams, I will say without hesitation that the impression I shall hereafter always carry of him will not be his military service, valiant and glorious as that was, nor his services as Governor and President, valuable and statesmanlike as they were, but it will be of Rutherford B. Hayes as a man, a superb, unselfish, warm and Christian hearted man whose pure heart went out in sympathy to all mankind and was wholly incapable of a selfish or unworthy thought.

As a husband, as a father, as a citizen and neighbor and friend, Rutherford B. Hayes has left to future generations his richest heritage. Never seeking public honors, he had them thrust upon him; yearning, as he continually did for the peace and comfort of a quiet home life, he was called again and again to perform high public service, to assume the highest positions of responsibility and trust. This is the stamp of true greatness. Washington had the same modesty and so did Lincoln, and in the love of his fellow-man, in patriotism, in purity of heart and unselfishness, Hayes was as great as either of them.

I feel honored in having been permitted to be present at these ceremonies. Through the ages this beautiful memorial



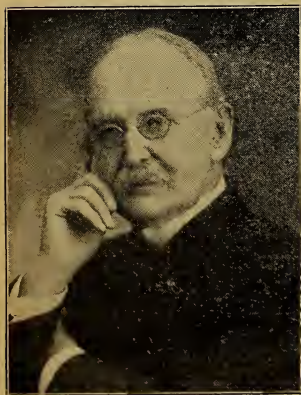
will stand as the testimonial of a grateful people to the life and services of a truly beloved man. To this building and the beautiful grove surrounding it will come generations of American citizens, our children, grandchildren, and their descendants, and draw an inspiration to a life of unselfishness and honor as they become more and more familiar with the life and character of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, that crowned and glorious life.

ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN ALEXIS COPE.

Captain Alexis Cope representing the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and also the associate of General Hayes on the Board of the Ohio State University, spoke as follows:

*President Wright, Members of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It was only yesterday that I received a telegram from Colonel Webb Hayes informing me that I would be expected to speak for the Loyal Legion on this occasion, so what I shall say has come to me in the few moments of reflection I have had since then, and shall be brief. Indeed the eloquent and scholarly address we have just heard from the lips of his distinguished biographer, Mr. Williams, has left his followers on the program little to say. All the high and shining points of President Hayes' great career, have been touched by a master hand. I congratulate him on his noble address. I also congratulate him on his biography of President Hayes, in which he has given to the world in simple and most attractive style the true story of his life and public services.



I share the regret that every one present must feel that General Young, who was to speak for the Loyal Legion, is not here. If he were present, he could speak for it more fittingly than I can, for he is its present Commander in Chief, and besides being a good soldier, is an eloquent speaker.

President Hayes was a charter member of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion, was elected its first Commander, and was re-elected four times in succession, serving from 1883 to 1887 inclusive. I recall with gratification and pride that when I presented myself as a candidate for membership in the order, it was President Hayes who administered the obligation. He was Commander in Chief of the National Commandery at the time of his death.

The fundamental principles of this organization are:

"FIRST: A firm belief and trust in Almighty God, exalting Him, under whose beneficent guidance the Sovereignty and integrity of the Union have been maintained, the honor of the flag vindicated and the blessings of the liberty secured, established and enlarged.

"SECOND: True allegiance to the United States of America, based upon paramount respect for, and fidelity to the National Constitution and laws, manifested by discountenancing whatever may tend to weaken loyalty, incite to insurrection, treason or rebellion, or impair in any manner the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions."

Its objects are:

"To cherish the memories and associations of the war waged in defense of the unity and indivisibility of the republic; strengthen the ties of fraternal fellowship and sympathy formed by Companions in Arms; advance the best interests of the soldiers and sailors of the United States, especially of those associated as Companions of the Order, and extend all possible relief to their widows and children; foster the cultivation of military and naval science; enforce unqualified allegiance to the General Government; protect the rights and liberties of American Citizenship, and maintain National Honor, Union and Independence."

President Hayes was loyal to these principles and labored

faithfully for these objects. When he died, a Committee of the Ohio Commandery, of which William McKinley was chairman, said of him: "The country has lost one of its great Statesmen and one of its most noble defenders. His old army comrades have lost a brave commander, an honorable associate and a wise counsellor, the Loyal Legion one of its most devoted and beloved companions."

My duty, as prescribed by the program might perhaps properly end here, but I can not forbear some remarks of a reminiscent character.

President Hayes had a passion for taking up problems left unsolved or tasks left unfinished by his predecessors. A notable instance of this was the completion of the Washington Monument in our National Capital, the story of which I had from his own lips. It had been begun away back in the forties and had reached a height of about one hundred and forty feet, when it was found that the foundations were not strong enough to support any further weight. Work on it had been abandoned and it had stood in this unfinished condition for a generation. When Hayes became President he called together a board of army engineers, who under his direction devised plans for its completion. He obtained from Congress the necessary appropriations, and took a personal interest in the progress of the work. It was found necessary to put a new foundation under the unfinished portion of the structure, and in order to do this, it had literally to be suspended in air while the work was being done. While it was so suspended, the President and Mrs. Hayes, who also took a great interest in the work, more than once walked underneath it. The President related that the engineers had placed in the excavation an instrument designed to detect and record any movement of the suspended mass. A pencil on a sheet of white paper automatically recorded any movement which occurred day or night.

One morning the engineers were startled to see that the instrument during the night before had recorded some very unusual movements or vibrations. They first thought there had been an earthquake, but inquiry at the Naval Observatory brought the report that no seismic disturbance had been recorded

on the instrument there, and they were at a loss to account for it. Finally, one of the engineers climbed to the top of the suspended column and found a small owl caught by its foot between the slats of a window, and that its fluttering struggles to escape had caused all the trouble. The little disturber was caught and presented to Mrs. Hayes, who had it mounted and preserved. It was brought to Fremont and placed above the clock in the hall of their home, where it still remains. (I think it should be in the museum.)

When President Hayes became Governor of Ohio, he found that in 1862, Congress had passed an act making large grants of land, or land scrip, to the several states for the endowment and maintenance of a college in each state for the primary purpose of teaching the branches of learning related to Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts and Military Tactics without excluding other branches of a liberal education. The Legislature had accepted the grant to Ohio of 630,000 acres of land scrip, and it had been improvidently sold at a lamentable sacrifice, realizing only about \$340,000. Owing to local jealousies and the opposition of the numerous existing colleges nothing had been done towards creating and locating a college to be endowed by the grant. A strong sentiment favored the division of the fund among several existing colleges, but Governor Hayes gave his voice in favor of one college, centrally located, which should receive the entire grant, and aided in clearing the way for such an institution.

The necessary legislation was provided by the act of March 20, 1870, during his second administration as Governor, and under this act the institution now known as the Ohio State University was organized and located. He appointed its first board of trustees, which held its first meeting in his office and was wisely guided by him in its deliberations. He favored its location at Columbus, and largely through his influence it acquired the large tract of valuable land which is now its spacious campus. In 1887, after having been Governor and President, on the request of the University authorities, he accepted a place on its board of trustees.

At that time the institution had made slow progress. It

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had encountered violent opposition from the other colleges of the State, and from the agricultural classes, and such opposition still to a large extent prevailed. The legislature had refused to make adequate appropriations for its support, and for needed buildings, and it had an enrollment of only about 300 students. President Hayes at once took an active part in quieting the opposition to the institution. He was by nature a harmonizer, and largely through his influence the agricultural classes were won to its support and the opposition of the other colleges to a large extent removed. He attended regularly the meetings of the trustees, appeared before committees of the legislature in advocacy of needed appropriations for buildings and equipment, and for an annual state levy sufficient for its maintenance and to meet its growing needs. These were all provided during his nearly six years of service as trustee, and largely through his influence. He saw the enrollment rise from 300 to over 800 students, and was assured that its future was secure. Could he have lived to this day he would have seen an enrollment of nearly 5000 students, and a graduating class of 900 students which next week will receive their degrees, and the University which he labored to establish and so wisely and faithfully served taking rank among the foremost educational institutions of the land.

President Hayes was an advocate of industrial education and it was mainly through his influence that a department of manual training was instituted at the University. On the invitation of the legislature he made an address on this subject to the two houses in joint session, which was so convincing that funds were provided for a building for manual training at the University which bears the name "Hayes Hall." He saw this building completed and properly equipped and was eagerly seeking for a proper person to take charge of the work, when he was stricken with the illness which resulted in his death. He attended meetings of the Board of Trustees, of which he was then President, January 11th and 12th, 1893, and in the afternoon of the 12th left for Cleveland to see a gentleman who had been recommended as a suitable person to take charge of the department which was to begin its work in Hayes Hall. It was while return-

ing to his home from this, his last public service, that he was fatally stricken.

It was during his service as trustee of the University, that I first came to really know President Hayes. I had often met him in his political campaigns, and during most of the period from November, 1876 to March 2, 1877, as occupant of a minor office in the Capitol at Columbus, I had seen him almost daily. I had marked with increasing admiration and respect his remarkable self-poise during the great and bitter conflict over his election as President, and was one of the great crowd which followed him to the railroad station on his way to Washington to be inaugurated as President, or to congratulate his competitor, if the Electoral Commission should decide in his favor, and heard the wonderfully eloquent and impressive speech he made from the end of the train before it moved out.

But as secretary of the board of trustees of the University I was thrown into closer relations with him and he soon honored me with his friendship and confidence. He grew constantly in my estimation. There were no defects in his character, no weakness, no loss of that noble dignity, which "gives the world assurance of a man." At the same time he was gentle, simple in manner, approachable and kindly to every one. One of his associates on the University board described him as "unassuming in manners, polite, studious, scholarly, accomplished, and made all who knew him his friends."

"His was no mountain peak of mind,  
Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars, —  
A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind;  
Broad prairie, rather, genial, level lined,  
Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,  
But also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars."

No great one in our history began life with higher ideals and maintained them more steadfastly through all the vicissitudes of a great career. Mr. Williams in his biography gives us this remarkable passage from his diary, written when he was only nineteen years old and had just entered the senior class at Kenyon College.

"I have never desired other than honorable distinction—The reputation that I desire is not that momentary eminence which is gained without merit and lost without regret. Give me the popularity which runs after, not that which is sought for. For honest merit to succeed amid the tricks and intrigues which are now so lamentably common, I know is difficult, but the honor of success is increased by the obstacles which are to be surmounted. Let me triumph as a man or not at all." Other extracts from his diaries show that he was actuated through life by the same high thoughts and noble purposes. After reading and reflecting upon them one does not wonder that he reached the summit of worldly station.

There was nothing meteoric in his rise. His calm star climbed with steadfast purpose and steady radiance, until it reached its assured place in the galaxy of our great ones. The clouds of obloquy which for a time obscured it have passed away and it now shines with increasing luster.

It is a source of unavailing regret that President Hayes died so soon. The party rancor which followed his election, was fast disappearing, his courageous efforts for a reform of the civil service and his wise Southern policy, which had so embittered his political associates, were being justified by their results, and the people were everywhere turning to him with increasing reverence and respect. A few more years of life would have enabled him to enjoy the triumph which, though often long delayed, surely comes to him who, with firmness for the right, fearlessly follows the high stern path of duty.

Mr. President Wright and you, honorable trustees of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, for the Loyal Legion, and for the Ohio State University, (for which I have assumed to speak), I congratulate you and our friend Colonel Webb Hayes on the consummation of your labors, whereby this beautiful Spiegel Grove and the stately mansion where President Hayes lived and died, have been dedicated to the public, and have become the property of the state. I also congratulate you on the completion of the noble museum in which are stored the relics of our beloved President. I also congratulate Colonel Hayes

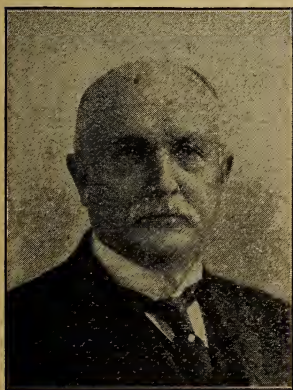
on his generous endowment, which assures that the whole shall be properly cared for forever.

It needs no prophetic vision to foresee that year after year the people of Ohio and of the Nation will come in increasing numbers, as to a shrine, to pay their tribute of reverence and affection for "the simple great one gone" and his beloved wife, who sleep side by side under yonder monument. From this shrine will constantly go forth an inspiring influence which will help towards preserving our faith in our free institutions and our love for our dear country, which makes such a career as that of President Hayes possible.

Former Governor James E. Campbell spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF FORMER GOVERNOR CAMPBELL.

*My Fellow Citizens:* It is with great pleasure that I render my tribute to this beautiful Memorial and to the great character whose memory it so fittingly preserves. I shall speak to-day briefly of Rutherford B. Hayes as Governor of Ohio. His administration was one full of glory and beneficence to the State. His faithful service left monuments to his statesmanship that will live as long as Ohio. They were deeds, not of military nor of political glory, but for the elevation of humanity. It was through his influence as Governor that the Geological Survey was revived and placed in the substantial position it now holds as one of the most useful branches of the



State's service.

To him can be credited the establishment of the Soldiers' Home.

He enlarged the field of the State Board of Charities. This was a subject always dear to his heart, and after his term of office was ended he served many years as a member of that body.

Governor Hayes always had the welfare of the State's un-



fortunate in view, and it was through his suggestion and influence that increased provisions were made for the insane; that the graded system was introduced into the penitentiary, and that many other prison reforms were instituted.

Among the most important acts of this humanitarian statesman was the founding of the Reform School for Girls at Delaware.

To him more than any one man in Ohio can be credited the promotion and success of the Agricultural and Mechanical College now the Ohio State University. He appointed the first Board of Trustees of this institution and in its initial stages he gave to it his wisest and best services. All his life, after he ceased to be Governor, he watched with solicitous interest the welfare of the University and no public duty was assumed with more enthusiasm than his entrance into the Board of Trustees.

He was always a student of history and a natural collector, as the Treasures of this Memorial Building will show. It was this instinct which prompted him to urge the purchase by the State of the valuable St. Clair Papers; it was through his influence that they were preserved in the State Library and subsequently published.

In these few words I have referred to General Hayes' record as Governor because others have given you his full length portrait as a national figure. But the people of his native State have received from his life the heritage of service that comes close to home to them. They can see the results of his life upon their lives daily. He has indelibly impressed upon the history of Ohio some of the most important acts and institutions of her existence. These imprints were deeds of humanity and are helping every day to uplift the humble and to comfort the unfortunate.

#### ADDRESS OF BASIL MEEK.

Basil Meek, representing the Sandusky County Bar association, and chairman of the local committee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, offered the following tribute:

Rutherford B. Hayes was, from 1845 to 1849, an active member of what has been known as the Pioneer Bar of Sandusky

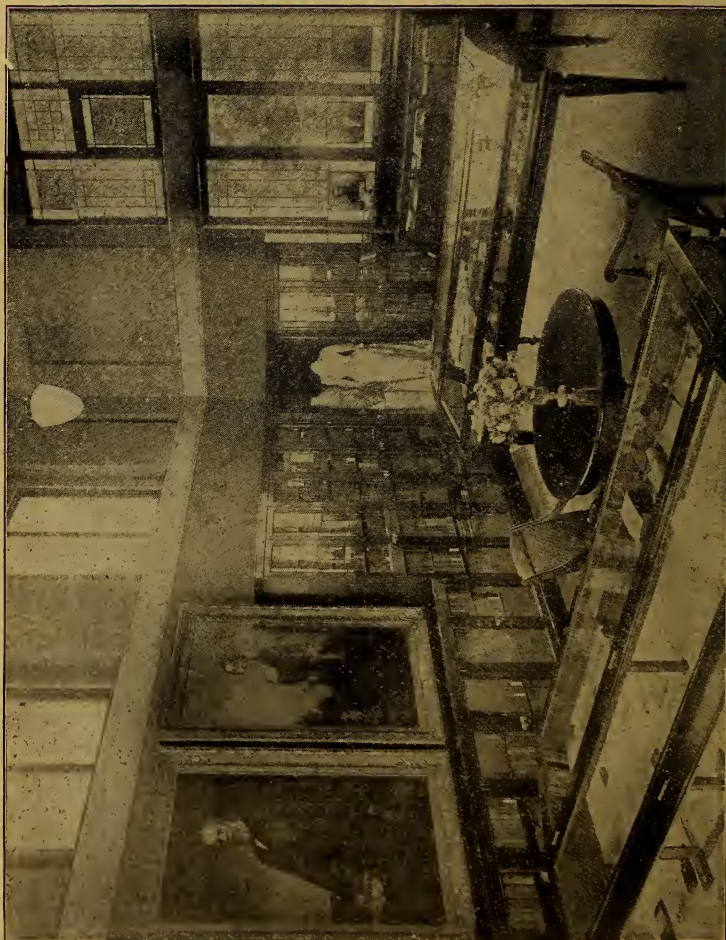
County, so called because existing prior to the adoption of the Ohio State Constitution of 1851, and was associated in practice with the earlier men of that galaxy of able lawyers of this bar, among whom may be mentioned Dickinson, Otis, Bartlett, Greene, Watson, Pettibone, Everett, Haynes, Buckland, Glick and Finefrock. This Bar was composed of men prominent, not only in the legal profession, but also in public official stations filled by the members thereof. From its members were nine State Legislators, five members of Congress, six Judges of Courts, two Governors, one of Ohio, and the other of Kansas, two Generals in the Union Army and a President of the United States.

Rutherford B. Hayes, after a thorough course at Kenyon College, from which he graduated with honor, commenced the study of law with Thomas Sparrow of Columbus, Ohio, and afterwards entered Harvard Law School and in 1845 completed the law course there, and having been admitted to the bar at Marietta, March 10, 1845, commenced the practice of law in Lower Sandusky (Fremont), where in April, 1846, he formed a law partnership with Ralph P. Buckland, which continued until 1849, when Mr. Hayes located in Cincinnati, Ohio, where by his marked ability, he soon attracted attention, as a lawyer taking rank among the prominent members of the profession there, among whom were such men as Salmon P. Chase, Caleb B. Smith, Alphonso Taft, Bellamy Storer, George H. Pendleton and George E. Pugh.

He was City Solicitor, an important legal position in a city like Cincinnati, from December, 1858, to April, 1861. The salary was \$3500.00 per year.

He was ambitious to excel in the profession, as we learn from himself for, in 1859 while in active practice in Cincinnati, in his Diary, which he habitually kept, he writes: "Let me awake to my old ambition to excel as a lawyer—as an advocate." And later he writes, "Without any extraordinary success, I have nevertheless found what I have sought, a respectable place," thus modestly assuming that he had reached his desired goal.

It was this ambition, which prompted his location in Cincinnati,—which city necessarily offered a wider arena for activity and experience in the practice, and consequent enlargement of his powers, than did Lower Sandusky in that day.



WEST LIBRARY ROOM OF THE HAYES MEMORIAL.



WEST LIBRARY, ROOM 407, THE HAYES MEMORIAL

In the midst of his growing and successful practice in Cincinnati, the War for the Union broke out. He immediately responded to his country's call and joined the army for the Union, which necessarily caused an abandonment of his practice and subsequent events in his public career made the abandonment permanent; and, though not having resumed the practice, since giving it up to enter the service of his country as a soldier, followed by his public official duties, as Congressman, Governor and President, he was, nevertheless ever a lover of the theory of the law in which he was profoundly versed, and would meet with our Bar Association after his final return to Fremont and occasionally would be seen in the court room, when court would be in session, thereby manifesting a lingering fondness for the scene of his early forensic contests in the courts of Sandusky County; and when his early friend, college mate and army comrade, Stanley Matthews, died at Cincinnati, in 1889, at his request a meeting of this Bar was called to pay tribute to the memory of the deceased, who in 1845, was on the recommendation of Mr. Hayes as chairman of the examining committee on Mr. Matthews' application for admission, admitted to The Sandusky County Bar, and who had always been regarded by this Bar as an honorary member.

It is an interesting fact that after the lapse of a third of a century, from the admission to the Bar of Mr. Matthews on the recommendation of Mr. Hayes it was the pleasure of the latter, as president of the United States to nominate the former to the Senate of the United States for confirmation as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Harvard Law School, had among its faculty, while Mr. Hayes was a student there, those eminent professors, Joseph Story and Simon Greenleaf, whose names as authors of legal text books, are household words among lawyers. Their high ideals of the dignity of the legal profession and the principles which should govern lawyers in its practice, as expressed by them to their students, evidently appealed to him, and found in his own characteristic high sense of justice and right moral action, a ready response, for, in his Diary referred to, he makes frequent entries, quoting from their words—among which is the following from Greenleaf: "A lawyer is engaged in the high-



est of all human pursuits — the application of the soundest reason and purest morality to the ordinary affairs of life. He should have a clear head and a true heart". Mr. Hayes possessed both of these essential qualifications, a clear head and a true heart in high degrees, and adhering in practice to the ideals held by his distinguished professors and believed in himself, he won the admiration and high esteem of his brethren of the bar, both of the County of Sandusky and City of Cincinnati and indeed of the legal profession throughout the State and Nation.

The Rev. E. M. O'Hare, Rector of St. Ann's church closed the program by delivering the following prayer :

O Lord God of nations, bless our country and its people, so that by due respect for virtue and religion, by prompt obedience to laws, by a proper regard for justice and mercy, they tend to the promotion of peace and national happiness; that increasing in industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge they may secure to themselves blessing of equal liberty. O Almighty Lord from whom all authority is derived we humbly beseech Thee to bless our Chief Executive, the President of these United States and the officers associated with him, confirming them in the right understanding of their weighty office, as also in courage and prudence for the execution thereof, that they may secure us in honorable peace and plenty.

Look down, O Lord, in kindly care, upon those, who, composing our Army and Navy, are engaged in upholding the honor and safety of their fellow citizens. Extend Thy benevolence to these old warriors who have so nobly defended their country and are now awaiting the last bugle call. We pray Thee to bless his Excellency, the Governor of this State and all State and Municipal officers, who assist him to guard our political welfare, that they may be able to discharge the duties of their respective offices with honesty and ability.

A benediction upon the memory of the gentle President, whose remains rest in these historic grounds, as well as upon the noble Christian woman, his faithful spouse.

Finally O God, may Thy benediction rest upon all here, and especially upon those who are preserving to future generations the memorials of past achievements, as a heritage of honor, patriotism and virtue. Amen.

THE MEMORIAL BUILDING.

The Memorial Building a beautiful structure of classic architecture, stands among the great trees to the north of the Hayes Residence, facing the entrance from Hayes Avenue. It is of light grey Ohio sandstone, from the Amherst quarries, and of ample proportions. Broad steps, between bronze pedestals bearing ornamental lights, lead up to the pillared portico and great bronze doors. Upon entering the building the first thing that catches



The Hayes Memorial Library and Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, in the Spiegel Grove State Park.

the eye is the portrait of General Hayes painted by Carl Rake-  
mann, representing him at the age of 70; while the Huntington  
portrait painted for the White House, and copied by Rakemann,  
represents him at 60, and the Andrews portrait in the east library  
shows him at 40, in the uniform of a Brevet Major General of  
Volunteers. Thus standing in the center of the rotunda, one  
can see lifelike portraits of General Hayes at 40, 60 and 70 years  
of age. Over the portrait in the rotunda is the Hayes coat-of-

arms from his Scottish ancestors, a falcon lighting on a rock, which bears the inscription *Recte*. At the left of the portrait and coat-of-arms, clustered in groups of three, are the flags of the thirteen original Colonies, together with the State flags of Vermont, Kentucky and Ohio, sixteen in all. The center of each cluster is the flag of the United States, the stars of which show the growth of the nation. In the cluster between the flags of Delaware and Pennsylvania, the first of the Colonies to ratify the Constitution, is the national flag adopted in 1777, 13 stripes with 13 stars arranged in a circle. In the second cluster, between the Colonial flags of New Jersey and Georgia, the third and fourth States, is the flag adopted in 1795, of 15 stars and 15 stripes, two States having been admitted to the Union. In the third cluster between Connecticut and Massachusetts, the national flag has 13 stripes and 20 stars, five additional States having been admitted in the interim, Congress providing in 1818 that thereafter on the 4th of July, following the admission of a new State the national colors should consist of the original 13 stripes with a star for each State of the Union. The 8th and last cluster consists of the flags of Kentucky and Ohio, with the national emblem of 13 stripes and 48 stars, the Union as it is today. The three States whose flags have been added to the Colonial States are very appropriately Vermont, from which State Rutherford Hayes, the father, migrated to Ohio; Kentucky, the State from which James Webb, the father of Mrs. Hayes, migrated to Ohio, and Ohio the native State of the President and Mrs. Hayes.

Over the main entrance are the royal standards of the countries which claimed possession of this territory prior to the War of the Revolution, the royal standard of Spain, 1492-1670; the royal standard of France, 1670-1760; and the royal standard of Great Britain, 1760-1796, Great Britain still retaining until 1796 the actual possession of the military post at Detroit and its sub-post on the Sandusky, at what is now known as Fort Stephenson in the center of Fremont, notwithstanding the treaty of peace made in 1783 some thirteen years earlier.

Over the door leading to the east library is the flag of the Governor of Ohio, General Hayes being the only Governor who was thrice elected; while over the door which leads to the west



library is the flag of the President of the United States, General Hayes being the 19th President, from 1877-1881. In the center of the floor space is an interesting relic of the battleship Maine—her bronze hand-steering gear, covered with barnacles and colored by sea water, which makes a handsome receptacle for a stately fern. The rotunda is illuminated by frosted glass bulbs. In the



Colonel Hayes digging the first shovelfull of earth for the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum in Spiegel Grove State Park, in 1912, in the presence of Prof. G. Frederick Wright, President, and W. C. Mills, Curator, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, also Senator G. A. Dean, Charles Richard Williams, Biographer, and guests, at Spiegel Grove.

windows opposite the main entrance are handsome colored transparencies of the State House at Columbus, the Governor's corner of the State House, with the statue called "Ohio's Jewels" full length bronze figures of Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan; Chief Justice Chase, Secretary of War Stanton, and Presidents Hayes and Garfield; the north



and south fronts of the White House at Washington; the east and west fronts of the national capital; the inauguration ceremonies of President Hayes in 1877, and his retirement on the inauguration of President Garfield in 1881. Opposite the entrance stands one of the Hayes ancestral clocks, a real grandfather's clock, which was loaded into the family wagon when the parents of President Hayes prepared to leave West Dummerston, Vermont, for the forty-day journey to the new State of Ohio, in 1817. The clock was so long that the tail board of the wagon could not be put in place, so that temporarily the clock was left with relatives in Vermont. On one side of the clock is a beautiful rosewood folding secretary, purchased for Lincoln and used in the cabinet room of the White House during the succeeding administrations of Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley. It was sold with many other interesting articles when the White House was renovated in the early days of Roosevelt. This secretary and the office chair were used by Colonel Hayes when a lad, as his father's personal secretary, who purchased a chair to replace it when leaving Washington. Another chair is a revolving chair used by President Hayes when Governor of Ohio. The only chairs in the east and west libraries were the ones used by President Grant, President-elect Hayes, Chief Justice Waite and the Sergeant-at-Arms of the U. S. Senate, during the inauguration of President Hayes, on the east front of the Capitol, 5th March, 1877.

On entering the west library one sees the beautiful full length portraits of the President and Mrs. Hayes, painted for the White House by Daniel Huntington, and copied by permission of President Wilson, by Carl Rakemann of Washington. The magnificent library of Americana of President Hayes, the largest owned by a private citizen at the time of his death in 1893, is stored in the east and west libraries in steel cases. In the four corners of the west library are shown on figures, the wedding dress, slippers, etc., of Lucy Ware Webb, when she was married to Rutherford Birchard Hayes, 30th December, 1852, at Cincinnati, Ohio. The three remaining cases contain dresses and wraps worn by her in the White House. The north windows contain portraits of Sardis Birchard, the uncle of Presi-

dent Hayes, who built the residence at Spiegel Grove for him prior to the War for the Union, and portraits in uniform on either side of Brevet Major-General Rutherford B. Hayes and Brevet Major-General Ralph P. Buckland who were law partners at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, from General Hayes's admission to the bar in 1845 until he removed to Cincinnati in 1849. The opposite window contains colored portraits of Rodolphus Dickinson, the first Congressman from this town, flanked on either side by portraits in uniform of Major-General Harrison and Commodore Perry, the heroes of 1812. On the upper windows are transparencies of "Old Whitey," the only surviving war horse General Hayes brought home from the War for the Union; and of Black Yauco, the fine coal-black war horse of Colonel Hayes which still survives, a veteran of the campaigns of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. This horse has since been ridden only by Colonel Hayes at the second inauguration and at the funeral obsequies of President McKinley in 1901 and by Midshipman Hayes at the inauguration of President Taft in 1909.

In both the east and west libraries are two large mahogany show cases for exhibition purposes, and in the middle of each room is a beautiful mahogany table from Belgium, secured by Colonel and Mrs. Hayes at Rotterdam in the early days of the great European War. In the west library, one of the large cases contains many of the personal pieces of wearing apparel worn by Mrs. Hayes at the White House, and others covering the period from her babyhood to her last public appearance at the Centennial of the inauguration of George Washington in New York in April, 1889. In the other case are the diplomas and commissions issued to President Hayes during the last fifty years of his life, beginning with his degree of B. A., at Kenyon College, in 1842; B. L. at Harvard Law School, in 1845, two commissions as City Solicitor of Cincinnati before the war; his military commission as Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier General and Brevet Major-General U. S. Volunteers; two commissions as Representative in Congress from the Cincinnati District, three commissions of Governor of Ohio, and the certificate of his election as President of the United States from

1877 to 1881. Also the honorary degree of LL.D., from Kenyon, Harvard, Yale and Johns Hopkins. There are also the diplomas of Lucy Ware Webb from the Wesleyan Female Seminary of Cincinnati in 1850, together with her valedictory address and the original manuscripts of several essays written by her before her graduation.

In the east library are the full length portraits by Andrews of Mrs. Hayes and of General Hayes in the uniform of a Brevet Major-General. There is also a duplicate of the Belgium mahogany table and of the two large mahogany show cases, one of which contains a large collection of autograph letters of prominent statesmen, soldiers, authors, poets, editors and philanthropists. This room like the other is lined with cases filled with library of Americana. Of the four large corner cases, one contains on mounted forms the uniform coat worn by Lieutenant Colonel Hayes when so severely wounded at the Battle of South Mountain, in the Antietam campaign, September 14-18, 1862. The coat was cut from his body, and it was many months before he recovered from this, the most severe of his six wounds received in battle. Although thirteen presidents of the United States have been soldiers in war, none other save only James Monroe was wounded in battle, he having been slightly wounded at the Battle of Princeton in 1777. The general officer's coat and also the highly prized Brigadier General's shoulder straps, given him by his immediate commander, Major-General George Crook, the famous Indian fighter and hunter, at the close of the Shenandoah Valley campaign in 1864, are also in this case.

One of the other corner cases contains the dress and uniform worn by Fanny Hayes, aged ten, and Scott, aged seven, at a Martha Washington children's dress ball, given at the White House. The other cases contain uniforms worn at many inaugurations and funerals of presidents, during the National administrations from Hayes to Taft, inclusive.

Immediately over the portraits is the regimental flag presented by Mrs. Hayes to the 23rd Ohio on her husband's promotion out of the regiment, and returned to her when the regiment was mustered out in 1865. General Hayes' brigade head-

quarters flag and division headquarters flag are enclosed in glass cases on either side of the portraits.

The illuminated portraits on the windows in this room show the patriotic citizenship of Sandusky County, and the military heroes whose names are household words. Major George Croghan, the gallant defender of Fort Stephenson, against the British and Indians, Aug. 2d, 1813, who was promoted and presented with a gold medal and each of his officers with a sword by the United States for gallantry in the defence of Fort Stephenson; Lieutenant Colonel John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder and explorer, after whom the town was named when changed from Lower Sandusky in 1849; and the local representatives in each of the wars since the Declaration of Independence, viz.: Private James Webb, aged 18, father of Lucy Webb Hayes, who served here in Captain Garrard's company, Kentucky Mounted Riflemen, in the second war with Great Britain; Captain Samuel Thompson, who was wounded at Lundy's Lane, Canada, in the War of 1812 and led a company from Sandusky County in the war with Mexico, 1846-48; Major General James B. McPherson, the officer highest in rank and command killed in battle during the War for the Union; Sailor George B. Meek, the first American killed in the War with Spain, 1898-9. The last three are buried in this county.

Two illuminated windows, high up, portray the Filipino pony "Piddig," ridden by Colonel Hayes at the relief of Vigan, Northern Luzon, P. I., when he won his Congressional medal of honor; and his horse, Trooper, which he rode in the relief of Peking.

The Museum on the lower floor of the Memorial Building is an exact counterpart of the main rotunda and library. The museum rotunda contains a complete collection of specimens of bronze and brass field guns, captured in each of the wars in which the United States has been engaged, including the War for Independence. The first is a bronze cannon which contains the British coat-of-arms and King George's royal cipher, with the inscription engraved on it by direction of Gen. Benedict Arnold before his treachery: "Taken at the storm of the British lines, near Saratoga, Oct. 7, 1777, by ————" with the name, Benedict Arnold



erased, as it was from all trophies by direction of the Continental Congress. A bronze coehorn mortar, with the British coat-of-arms and King George's royal cipher is the trophy captured during the second war with Great Britain, 1812. A small bronze cannon, inscribed "San Juan" was captured in the War with Mexico, 1846-48. This was one of the four bronze guns, the Four Apostles, presented by the king and queen of Spain to—— in——, which were used after the conquest of Mexico. The other three guns, St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, are now on exhibition at West Point and the War Department in Washington. The guns of the Apostles' Battery were used when Texas declared her independence from Mexico and were captured later during the war with Mexico. A brass, six-pound gun inscribed "Louisiana" was captured during the War for the Union, 1861-65. A single-barreled and a double-barreled bronze, swivel lantaka was taken by Magellan to the Philippine Islands after his discovery of the Straits of Magellan, and was taken from the Spaniards by the savage Moros of Mindanao, P. I. The double-barreled gun was presented by Datto Piang of Reina Regenta, Mindanao, on the visit of the first American troops under Colonel Hayes to that fort in the winter of 1899-1900. The last, and probably most interesting, is a bronze cannon with numerous Manchu hieroglyphics, one of three guns brought by Colonel Hayes to America, which had been used in firing on the legations and on the relief column, from Hata gate, leading into the Tartar City from the Chinese city of Peking, in 1900.

The family barouche, purchased by President Hayes in March, 1877, and used as the President's carriage during the administration of President Hayes and the brief administration of President Garfield, was placed in the museum before the building was finished. It has been occupied by all the presidents from Grant to McKinley, by all of our leading generals, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Schofield, Miles and Crook, while guests of President Hayes. A recess case contains the Hayes family cradle, the Wheeler & Wilson sewing machine and the old lapboard, which were much used by Lucy Webb Hayes during the war for the Union in preparing the necessary clothes for her four small boys during the winters which were spent with

them in the camp of her husband in western Virginia. There is also a miniature three-story doll house, which was on exhibition at a fair in Baltimore, and then presented to Fanny Hayes, aged ten, and used by her at the White House.

The east and west museums are duplicates in size of the east and west libraries. The east museum is reserved for General Hayes' war relics and war photographs and numerous curios collected on his trips while President. His complete horse equipment, saddle, bridle, pistol holster, mess chest, with dishes of iron and heavy stoneware, and bedding roll, with numerous other personal effects used in the war are placed in one of the two large Japanese show cases used for the Japanese exhibit at the Centennial exposition in 1876. Two other show cases contain a fairly large collection of guns, pikes, swords, flags, and other articles captured in the early months of the War for the Union. Other cases contain samples of equipment carried by members of his favorite regiments, and others a collection of war time photographs, etc., including a collection of political badges dating back to the Harrison campaign of 1840, with many valuable souvenirs of Lincoln's campaign.



The west museum contains a large collection of hunting and Indian and war relics made by Colonel Webb C. Hayes who, for thirteen years prior to the death in 1890 of his godfather, Major-General George Crook, the most famous hunter and Indian fighter of the United States Army, went on long hunting trips with him in the wilds of the Rocky Mountains. There is also a very large collection of war curios made while serving as Major 1st Ohio Cavalry, through

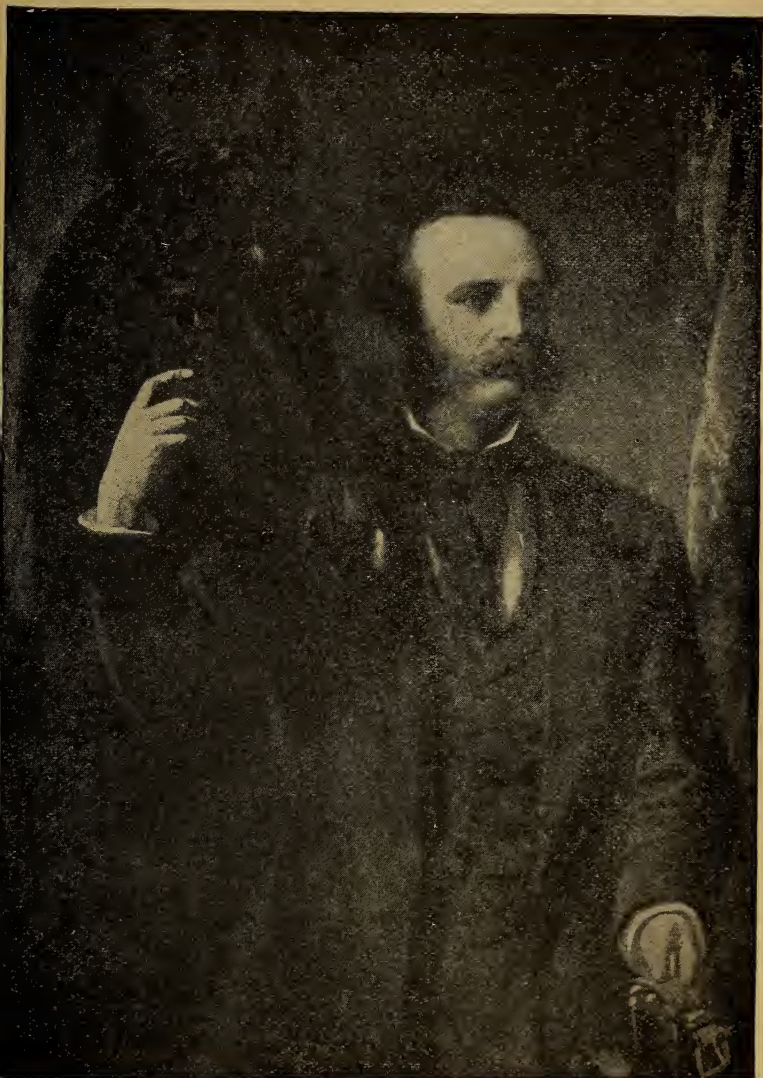
the campaign of Santiago de Cuba, and for the invasion of Porto Rico, in the War with Spain; and while serving as Lieutenant Colonel of the 31st U. S. Infantry during the insurrection in the Philippines, extending from General Young's

campaign in northern Luzon, where Colonel Hayes won the much coveted Congressional Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry in the relief of Vigan, 4th December, 1899, down to the campaign against the Moros of Mindanao where his regiment was the first American garrison of that island, with headquarters at Zamboanga, from 1899 to 1901. There is also a very large collection made during the Boxer insurrection in China, where he served on Major General Chaffee's staff in the China Relief Expedition of 1900. Subsequent campaigns which he attended as an observer are represented by interesting collections made during the Russian-Japanese war, when he served with General Koroki's Japanese army on the march through Korea to the Yalu river, and later with the Russian army in the vicinity of Mukden, and during the present great European war in France, Belgium and Germany, during the first months of hostilities, where he secured at Louvain within a fortnight after the destruction of the famous library, three porcelain cups, the only articles saved from that famous library.

The twenty-two windows of the museum have had placed in them illuminated portraits of the landing of Columbus on the discovery of America in 1492; a portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, after whom the western continent was named; and then five portraits each of famous characters of the Indians, the Spaniards, the French and the British who had to do with this part of Ohio, prior to the formation of the American Commonwealth after the Declaration of Independence. It is the intention to place on the upper sash of each of these twenty-two windows, portraits of the famous Americans who had to do with military campaigns in this vicinity or were native to it, in the campaigns of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the War for the Union, the War with Spain, and the insurrection in the Philippines and the China Relief expedition of 1900.

The large American flag which floats over the Memorial Building was presented by the Col. George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R., on Flag Day, June 14, 1915.





JOHN S. RAREY AND CRUISER.

From a painting by Kellogg in 1860, now owned by his niece, Mrs. Sarah Jones Bunn, Columbus.





## RAREY, THE HORSE'S MASTER AND FRIEND.

BY SARA LOWE BROWN.

It is one of the honors of Franklin county, Ohio, that early in the second quarter of the Nineteenth century, it produced, in the person of John Solomon Rarey, a man who bore to all the world the message that in kindness there is power. Ralph Waldo Emerson said of him that he had "turned a new leaf in civilization," while William Lloyd Garrison testified to his "fitness to teach the world a great and everywhere needed lesson of humanity." The young man was educated at the old Groveport academy, Bishop Washburn's school on Walnut creek and at Ohio Wesleyan University, but he found his message—that of kindness to animals, especially the horse—in the fields and stables of his father's farm. With this message that the rule of love is the condition of greatest achievement in the use of the horse, he proceeded, when he was but thirty-one, to the state capital, to Canada, to Europe, Africa and Asia, proclaiming his gospel and working what seemed to be miracles in the taming of horses so vicious that all the methods known to brutal horse-breakers had failed to subdue them. His achievements were witnessed, applauded and honored by kings, emperors and savants, and he returned to his native land to make a tour from which he emerged with the praise of reformers, philanthropists and intellectuals generally.

Mr. Rarey's great work was done within the period of ten years, and it was so well done that its influence will never be lost. It gave new vitality to the Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and put a kindlier spirit into the methods of training horses for service in the armies, not only of this country, but also of England and France. It taught to the cabmen and carters of London, Paris, Edinburgh and other cities

the folly and wickedness of brutality to their animals and gave to lovers of the horse everywhere, both men and women, the real key to their successful management.

Only a man of fine intelligence, good heart and real genius could have done all this. And that is precisely what John Rarey was. No one can read the reports of his lectures or the accounts of his demonstrations without being convinced that he was a man of extraordinary powers of speech, of pleasing personality, of courage and of confidence never running to the extreme of egotism. He performed wonders, but he gave reason for them and showed others how they could do as much if they would.

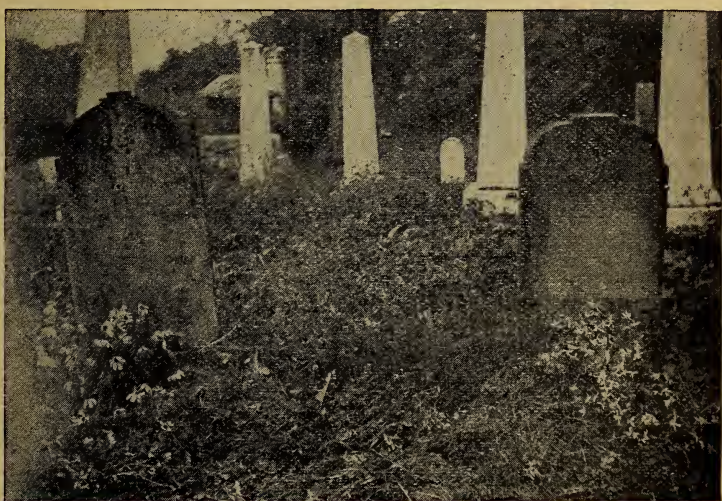
It was a rare lesson that Mr. Rarey taught — a lesson that men everywhere are too prone to forget. If it were applied to mankind, as one of his English admirers said, "Christianity would assign him a place among the Apostles." It is akin to the lesson that the world must learn again, if the nations are to live at peace.

#### THE RAREY FAMILY.

The Rarey family in America is traced back to Charles Rarey, who was born in Nord Ottensin, Hamburg, in 1744, and came, when a young man, to America as a trader in dry goods. Losing his fortune through the repudiation of Continental money, he turned to farming and, in 1778, married Margaret Wolfe who, though of English descent, was of American birth. He was a tenant farmer in Maryland and later in Virginia. Of the eleven children born of this union, one, Nicholas, died. The others came with their parents, in 1806, to Ohio, the family settling on a purchased farm in Franklin county, on Walnut creek. They were among the early settlers of the county. Their farm was surrounded by forest in which there was an abundance of game including bears and wolves which were often a menace to the stock. But Charles and his family of fearless, energetic boys were great hunters; they retaliated on the wild animals and made merchandise of their furs, thus adding to the profits from the farming. Prosperity came as a result of this double industry and farm after farm was added to the Rarey holdings. Charles Rarey died at the Walnut creek homestead, January 3, 1822.

aged 82 years; his wife, Margaret Wolfe, died at the same place, October 10, 1839, aged 74 years; their remains are buried in the little cemetery near by.

Adam Rarey, son of Charles and Margaret and father of John, was born in 1786, and at the age of 26 married Mary Catherine Pontius, a pretty young woman of Pennsylvania birth then living in Chillicothe. The couple for four or five years lived on a farm near the paternal home, but, annoyed by the overflowing of Walnut creek and tempted by the opening of the public



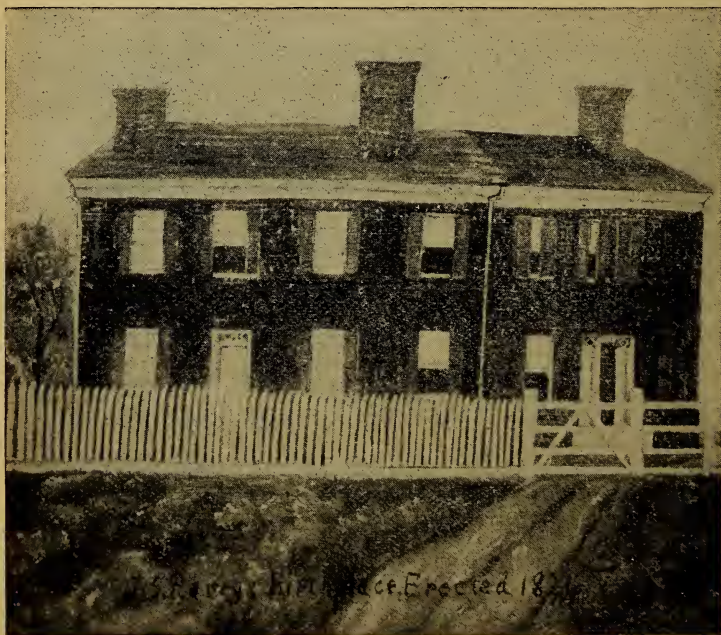
Graves of Charles and Margaret Rarey in the Cemetery on Little Walnut.

road from Columbus to Lancaster, moved to another tract where, because their home was a convenient stopping place for travelers between Columbus and Lancaster, they opened, soon after the declaration of peace in 1815, a house of public entertainment, maintaining it till Adam's death in 1839.

It was in the brick house, erected by Adam Rarey (the front walls of which were retained in the Rarey mansion, now remodeled as the Hotel Elmont) that John Solomon Rarey was born, December 6, 1827. One of his earliest traits was an intense fondness for the farm horses and colts. When he was



three years old, it was his delight to ride the plowhorse when his father or elder brother was working in the fields. When he was 12, his father gave him a spirited bay colt to break, according to his own ideas. He did so, making the animal the marvel of the neighborhood. His fame spread, and men came hundreds of miles to be instructed by the boy in the training of horses; so that, while he was yet a youth, he found himself in a prosperous business.



Birthplace of John S. Rarey, Groveport, Ohio. Erected in 1826.

Convinced that the horse is an animal of higher intelligence than generally supposed and having decided to make horse-training his life-work, John went to Texas, where he spent several months in studying and training the wild horses of the plains. Kindness, firmness and patience were the essentials of his system, and to these qualities the wild horses yielded as readily as did those at his Ohio home. There he also owned and

trained a team of elks which he often drove to the capital and to county fairs.

#### OFF TO EUROPE.

Now fairly launched on his great career, Mr. Rarey returned to Ohio and in 1856 gave a public exhibition of his art at the Ohio Stage Company's yard, Gay and Fifth streets, Columbus. About the same time he published a small book containing the essentials of his method. The book had a large sale, and the principles it set forth are still employed in the training of the American cavalry horses. In 1857, with letters of introduction from Governor Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Mr. Rarey went to Toronto, where he gave a single exhibition before Sir Edmund Head, Governor-General of Canada, and the British army officers. Thence with other indorsements and letters of recommendation, he sailed for England, traveling with R. A. Goodenough, a Toronto merchant and amateur breeder of horses. On the voyage, he was invited by two Englishmen to try his method on a vicious horse in which they were interested. On his arrival in Liverpool, November 29, he undertook the task, accomplishing it to their entire satisfaction. They cheerfully paid him the fee agreed upon, and so he had \$100 in gold as the proceeds of his first six hours on English soil. The Liverpool Journal complimented him by describing him as "a perfect gentleman of easy address and great knowledge, not only of horses, but of men."

The young American found no difficulty in enlisting the support of Sir Richard Airey, Lieutenant-General of the British army, and Prince Albert. Hearing of his skill, Queen Victoria expressed a desire to witness an exhibition, and arrangements were made for one at Windsor Castle before the royal family and suite. Here is Mr. Rarey's own account of it, written in a letter to his sister Margaret, under date of January 17, 1858:

"After the royal family entered the Riding House, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert came in and to the front, where I was introduced to her Majesty and the Prince Consort, while sitting on the back of a large wild colt, which stood perfectly quiet with its head up. I, facing the party, with my hat in hand, made a short speech to the Queen. A drum was afterwards

Lithopolis Ohio Nov 10<sup>th</sup> 1857

This certifies that I have been acquainted with Mr. John A. Rany, the "Horse Doctor", from his boyhood up, and have witnessed his performances with horses for many years. While but a stripling of a boy, he was noted for his fearlessness in handling wild and vicious horses, and so early did he often pay for his temerity. Three different times that I now recollect, have I been called, as physician to the family, to reduce or assist in reducing fractured or dislocated bones, occasioned by his experiments with intractable or vicious horses; but by dint of perseverance and deep investigation into the habits and disposition of the universal horse family, he has at last attained to a knowledge, or ability to control the wildest and, hitherto, most unmanageable horses, unequalled, perhaps, by any man in America. And I feel no hesitation in saying to any who may be incredulous with regard to his power over wild or unbroken horses, try him and he will render perfect satisfaction.

A. Clark M.D.

Letter of Recommendation by a Lithopolis Physician.



handed me, which I beat with fury, without the horse exhibiting any signs of fear.

"After taming a second horse, the riding master selected a horse belonging to Prince Albert, a wild, nervous animal. I was in a box stall alone with the horse for fifteen minutes. When Queen Victoria and Prince Albert entered, they found the animal lying down, and I lying beside him, with one of his hind feet under my head and the other over my chest. This so astonished them that they laughed. As the place was not large, all could not see; so after the Queen and Prince Consort had looked, they stepped back to let others of the royal party have a look. After that, the Queen and Prince Consort came back, talking to me about the horse, inquiring if I could make him rise. I answered 'Yes,' and commanded the animal to rise to his feet. They stood looking at the horse and said it was a wonderful performance, thanked me for the entertainment and departed.

"After the exhibition, I was shown through the castle from kitchen to cellar, the state rooms and the Queen's private rooms. It was a very interesting sight. I also dined in the castle and, the next day, I received a note by the special command of the Queen, with a cheque enclosed for \$125, a gift for my entertainment. She also sent a messenger to know if I would again appear before her Majesty and the royal guests in attendance for the royal marriage. I accepted the invitation and will have the honor of addressing more royalty, perhaps than has ever been brought together on any previous occasion."

Of this same performance before the Queen and her suite, the *London Times* of January 25, 1858, said:

"On that occasion the subjects on which Mr. Rarey operated were three in number. One was a fine spirited black horse of high nervous temperament, which had been returned to Mr. Anderson, of Piccadilly (of whom he had been bought for a large sum of money) on the ground of his being restive and all but unmanageable. This animal, it is but right to say, had been seen and handled by Mr. Rarey, at Mr. Anderson's stable, previous to his being taken to Windsor. At the first interview with the horse at Piccadilly, he was placed in a loose box, which Mr. Rarey entered, cracking a whip. Startled by this unusual exhibition of violence, the animal struck out with both his hind legs and uttered a kind of savage yell. The company who had assembled to witness the



experiment were then asked to withdraw, and Mr. Rarey was left alone with the horse. On being called in again, in less than a quarter of an hour, they were amazed to find the animal prostrate on his side, among the straw in the stall, with his head slightly raised, and Mr. Rarey, whom he was eyeing without the least symptom of alarm, lying beside him. Mr. Rarey remained with him in this position for some time, during which he knocked the horse's fore and hind hoofs together, made a pillow of his thighs and finally got up and ran a heavy wheelbarrow up to and around the still prostrate creature, without producing in him the slightest sensation of fear.

"The next subject was a young unbroken colt, brought from a farm of Prince Albert in the vicinity, which had never been handled in any way and which Mr. Rarey had never before seen. This colt was led in by a halter and left alone with the horse tamer, who intimated a wish that the company would retire for a few minutes to the farther end of the building. After the lapse of about a quarter of an hour, the royal party were summoned to return, and then they saw, as in the former case, this wild colt lying on the ground, and the horse tamer by his side, who sat upon him and handled his legs, feet and every other part by turns—a process during which the creature remained wholly passive.

"After Mr. Rarey had parted with the colt, a handsome bay charger, belonging to the Prince Consort, was brought to him. This horse, one of high spirit, which had always shown great restlessness while being mounted, and a constant tendency to take fright, would, it was thought, almost defy Mr. Rarey's attempts to tame him; but the result was as successful as in the two previous instances. In a short time, the horse tamer had him down also, as submissive as all the rest, and was seen crawling among his legs, sitting upon his shoulders and hips and knocking his hoofs together. Then, bidding the horse rise, which he did instantly, Mr. Rarey jumped upon his back and by turns held an umbrella over his head and beat a tattoo on a drum, the hitherto proud and restless animal now owning subjection to a new master, remaining the while almost as motionless as a statue."

According to invitation, Mr. Rarey gave his second exhibition before royalty, January 23, 1858, in the Riding School attached to the Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace. His audience, on that occasion, included the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Princess Royal, the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred and other members of the royal family, with the ladies of the Court and most of the foreign princes and distinguished visitors then in London, including Prince Frederick William of Prussia, the Prince of Prussia, Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, Prince Albert of Prussia, Prince Frederick Albert of Prussia, Prince

Adalbert of Prussia, Prince Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Flanders, Prince William of Baden, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimer and Prince Julius of Holstein Glucksburg; also the Duke of Wellington, Major General Sir Richard Airey, Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal; Colonel Hood, Clerk Marshal to the Prince Consort and Major Groves, Crown Equerry.

At this second exhibition, Mr. Rarey was assisted by Lord Alfred Paget, to whom had been communicated his secret of horse-control, as well as to Sir Richard Airey and Colonel Hood. This from the London Times shows that Mr. Rarey's power was not personal to him:

"Lord Alfred took for his subject a beautiful grey pony belonging to the Prince of Wales. He was left alone with the pony for a few minutes in the riding school, and on the admission of the royal party, it was prostrate on the ground, with his lordship sitting, caressing it, handling its feet and legs, resting on its haunches and in all respects treating it in a manner proving its complete subjection to him. That over, Mr. Rarey appeared with the black horse from Anderson's, in Piccadilly, to which reference has been made. Placing himself at one end of the riding school, he called to the animal which he had left at the other, and it immediately cantered toward him in a playful manner. It lay down at his bidding or followed him like a dog around the building. When down, a plank was laid upon its shoulders, up which Lord Paget ran a wheelbarrow. Finally, when the horse had regained his legs, he was mounted by Mr. Rarey who sat on the animal's crupper with his back to the head, beating a drum and cracking a whip over him, this treatment resulting in neither motion nor fear on the part of the horse.

"One of the fine stud of cream-colored horses belonging to her Majesty was next subjected to the manipulation of Mr. Rarey, with an equally surprising and successful result, so far as laying the animal, which is an entire horse, down was concerned, and handling him all over with the utmost freedom. Besides the frequent display of some vicious propensities, this particular animal of late has never permitted anybody to ride him; but he allowed Mr. Rarey to mount him without offering the least resistance. With this the exhibition terminated, and the Queen and her illustrious visitors, by whom it was witnessed with the most evident tokens of interest and wonder, took their departure."

At the wedding in St. James Palace, the following morning, Mr. Rarey was an invited guest.

## HE TAMES CRUISER.

Seeing what Mr. Rarey did was quickly followed by speculation as to how he did it. Sir Richard Airey and the others to whom the information had been given at once testified that in the treatment that had not been seen, there was nothing of cruelty, of tricks, of drugs, of mesmerism or any other similar



Cruiser Bridled and Untamed.

influence; that his treatment was one of extreme kindness and tenderness toward the animal, the object being to convince him that man is his natural master and friend, and to elicit his confidence and kindly regard. His appeal, they declared, was, as he said, to "the intellect and affections of the horse." But that did not dispose of all the doubters.

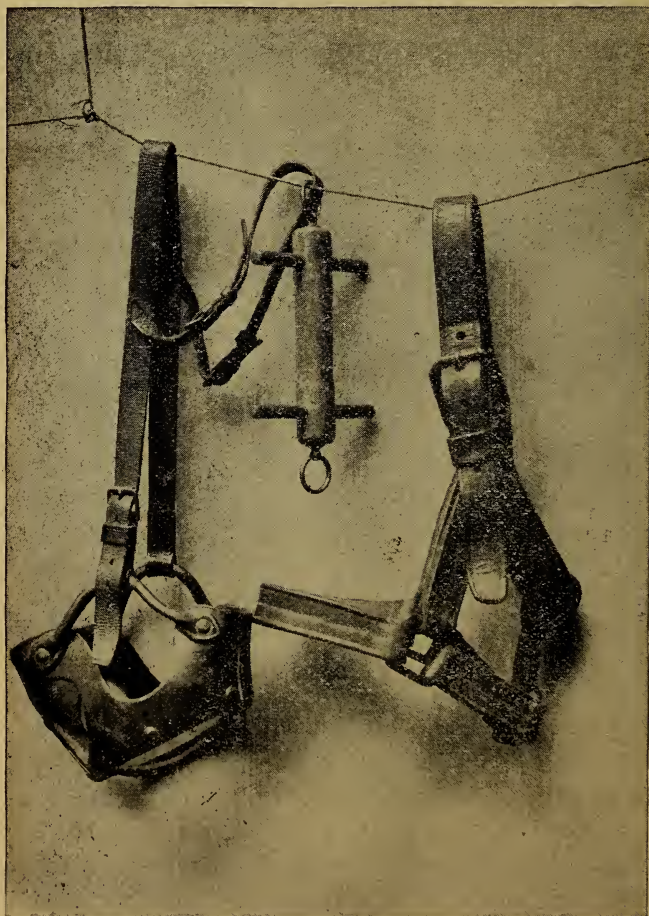


"If Mr. Rarey would set criticism at naught," wrote Lord Dorchester, "let him come down to Murrell's Green with a few of his aristocratic friends and try Cruiser. If he can ride him as a hack, I guarantee him immortality and an amount of ready money that would make a British bank director's mouth water." That was a challenge, indeed! Cruiser, sired by Venison, dammed by Little Red Rover, was bred by Lord Dorchester in 1852, and from a foal had been considered vicious; he was always troublesome to handle, and showed temper on every opportunity. On the road from Danebury to Greaywell, he went on his knees and tore the ground up with his teeth. Dorchester had seen him lean against the wall of his box and kick and scream for ten minutes together. For days he would allow no one to enter his box and, on one occasion tore an iron bar, one inch thick, in two with his teeth. But he was of great racing stock and had himself made one appearance, as a two-year-old, at Newmarket, when he was beaten a neck, after a close finish, by the Duke of Bedford's Para. In consequence of going amiss, Cruiser never started again, but at the time of the challenge, six colts and seven fillies were to his credit. However, he was the torment and menace of all who had him in charge, and his value had depreciated from \$15,000 to \$10,000; it had even been proposed, for the safety of his keepers to deprive him of his sight. At Rawcliffe, he was always exhibited by a groom with a bludgeon in his hand, and few were bold enough to venture into his yard, the cordial wish of every visitor apparently being that some friendly bullet would lay him low.

Mr. Rarey promptly accepted the challenge and asked that Cruiser be sent to him in London, but Lord Dorchester replied that Mr. Rarey must come to the horse. So it was done, Mr. Rarey finding Cruiser a prisoner in a brick stable with a solid oak door. For three years the horse had worn an eight-pound muzzle of iron with a bar in front of his mouth so that he could eat only by licking the feed up with his tongue. The quarters were cramped for successful operation but the situation had to be accepted and, accompanied by Lords Dorchester and Burleigh, Mr. Rarey set about the task which was to make or mar his English fame. Twice Cruiser flew at the trainer with a fierce



bellow, but the latter escaped only to return to the attack and at length succeeded in tying Cruiser's head to the rack. This sense of restraint maddened the horse, the blood vessels of his head



Halter, Iron-bound Muzzle and Gag Worn by Cruiser before He was Tamed.

dilated and his frenzy for nearly twenty minutes was such that Lord Dorchester begged Mr. Rarey not to peril his life and to think no more of the one hundred pound bond which he had

entered into to return the horse cured in three months. But Mr. Rarey knew the game better than did either Dorchester or the horse. Gradually the latter's fury was spent and the way was opened to other proofs to the animal that he had met his master. At the end of three hours Cruiser bore Lord Dorchester up and down the straw yard, as he had previously borne Mr. Rarey. Later, he trotted, led behind a cart, to Virginia Water for the night. The next day, Cruiser was led to London behind an open buggy, where he became the chief exhibit in proof of the trainer's prowess. Queen Victoria was delighted and she and the royal children were frequent visitors, caressing Cruiser in regret for the hard usage to which he had been subjected. Four times she witnessed exhibitions by Mr. Rarey, asserting that for her there could be no better amusement.

Now began a period of triumph for the American. A class of two thousand persons was formed, headed by the Queen and the Prince Consort and including princes, dukes, earls, duchesses, marchionesses and other representatives of the nobility, each subscriber paying a fee of \$52.50. Mr. Rarey's popularity ran high, due not only to his marvelous successes but also to his quiet, gentlemanly deportment and unassuming manners. Verses and music were composed and dedicated to him. There was the Rarey Waltz, written by his highly gratified pupil, Matilda Langen and played at Her Majesty's state ball by Mr. Weippert's band. One of the literary tributes follows:

#### A SONNET

TO MR. RAREY, THE HORSE TAMER.

If it be great to conquer with the sword  
And bend unwilling captives to our will;  
If it be great, by utterance of a word,  
To cause destruction and death's empire fill;  
If, when the young, bold Macedonian king  
First rode the horse, companion of his fame,  
None else dare ride, the very air did ring  
With long-continued plaudits of his name,  
And his delighted father called aloud,  
"My kingdom is too small for such a son!"

Hast thou not reason to be truly proud  
 Who all such feats of triumph hast outdone,  
 For none are like to thine, since they embrace  
 The noblest triumphs in the noblest race!

— *Catherine.*

Another who lauded the American in verse was Mr. Hamilton McCarthy, sculptor, who also added to Johnson's Dictionary the word, "Rarefy," which he defined as a verb, active, meaning "to tame a horse by kindness; to win by love; to mollify by the oil of kindness; to reclaim a badly broken horse; to cure madness by excessive kindness." The sculptor's poem runs:

#### RAREY, THE EQUINE KING.

"'Mongst all the wonders known of late  
 Is Rarey's rising fame,  
 How he subdues the vicious Horse  
 And can the wildest tame.

The hopeless Cruiser he has tamed  
 And savage Stafford — they  
 Have winced their spirit to his eye  
 And owned his gentle sway.

The fearless Zebra he's subdued,  
 Despite his tameless fame,  
 To own there's one Creation's lord  
 Has more than the mere name.

My lord, His Grace of Wellington,  
 Master of the Horse is called,  
 Rides with the Queen in times of state,  
 By patent right installed.

The Horse's master Rarey is,  
 And noble proofs has shown  
 In presence of illustrious hosts  
 Who all his genius own.

Yea, e'en the Queen — Prince Albert, too —  
 Paid tribute to his fame,  
 Welcomed the Hero of the Horse  
 And saw how he could tame.

Cruiser, who late like maniac  
Amongst the tombs long dwelt,  
Is now so meek that e'en the Queen  
His gentle head has felt.

That high-blood class, Aristocrat,  
The nobles of the land,  
Came boldly to the Equine Chief,  
Nor spared the generous hand.

That noble race knew no distrust,  
Nor grudged the laborer's fee,  
But thought it small comparison  
The coming boon to see.

Ten guineas they two thousand times,  
Or e'en ten thousand more,  
Most gladly would have handed down  
To know what was in store.

The charmed power, at length revealed,  
Reproved the proud surmise —  
Proved 'twas no drug, mesmeric art,  
Concealed by specious guise.

The Equine Chief, of gentle sway,  
By mind o'er mind prevails,  
Not force 'gainst force or brute 'gainst brute  
To triumph never fails.

Love in the Horse's King begets  
Love in the creature, too;  
Affection's greetings there are seen,  
Most genuinely true.

By gentle means the wildest colt  
Yields to the master mind,  
Submits his noble spirit up  
And finds that man is kind.

No cruel goad, relentless spur,  
Contortion hobbled, jocked —  
Abstaining from those coward tricks,  
His noble heart is shocked.



In all the world no country is  
So fine a Horse can show;  
For beauty, symmetry and strength  
We need no further go.

Till Rarey came we could not tame,  
Save by the cruel thong  
And hosts of dire contrivances,  
As futile as they're strong.

The breaker-in has now no place  
For cruel treatment more,  
But now must train himself to see  
The better plan in store.

Yea, more! Let legislators learn  
To Rarefy the law  
And take a page from Rarey's book  
And from its morals draw.

Let breakers, grooms and owners all,  
With skill if they would tame,  
Learn their unbridled hearts to rule  
And keep subdued the same.

Let gospel teachers learn to show  
How love begets its kind;  
Deal not so much damnation round,  
But Rarefy mankind.

What human Cruisers they'd reclaim,  
And two-legged zebras turn  
To ornament society  
And peaceful laurels earn.

If you have got a tameless wife  
And fain would have a strifeless life,  
Of patience be not chary;  
Show her that you're her kindest friend,  
Sincerely proving 'tis your end  
To treat her a la Rarey.

Wife-beating then will cease to be  
The sin that shames society,  
    So rife in our day;  
Wives then will know the Rarey charm  
Has no intent to do them harm,  
    And joy beneath its sway.

How shall that good Society,  
    Known as the Animals' Friend,  
Acknowledge Rarey's patronage  
Or see when it shall end?

He comes, a Legion to their aid,  
    A rich donation pays;  
He brings a principle to work  
    The marvel of our days.

A living principle, I say,  
    A beacon — point of sight —  
A proof there needs no cruelty  
    To train a Horse aright.

This is worth preserving, if not for its literary excellence, at least as evidence that Mr. Rarey had captivated the English public. His performances, which were closely observed, not only worked a complete transformation in the methods of horse-training in a land proud of its horses, but, as the sculptor-poet indicates, set people thinking of the power of kindness, generally too much held in reserve. As Mr. McCarthy, in his verses, indicates, Mr. Rarey tamed a zebra as he did the horses, and for the first time in the history of the world, his audience one day had the pleasure of seeing this hitherto untamable animal quietly ridden into the arena by a groom.

At a dinner given by the coach proprietors, horse-dealers and livery stable-keepers of England, at Willis' rooms, King street, St. James, in aid of a provident fund belonging to their associated trades, the chair was occupied by the Earl of Shelbourne, who was supported by the Earl of Cork, Lord Edward Thynne, Hon. Sydney Pierrepont, Count Bathyany, Mr. H. Baring, M. P., Mr. Rarey, Mr. Tattersall and others. Grace having been said and the usual loyal and patriotic toasts duly honored, the Hon. S. Pierrepont said that he took credit to himself for being the



The latter, responding, expressed his appreciation of the compliment and said that, having been at all times fond of horses, he had made their habits his study. It was from what he considered a correct understanding of those habits and the temper of the animals that he derived the power that he had over them. He said he had no desire to play the charlatan and at the very moment of his arrival in England, he had waited on Sir Richard Airey and other gentlemen and had offered, as a proof of his humane mode of treatment, to lodge a large sum of money in their hands. Interested, as he was, in everything that concerned the horse, he could not but approve of the fund, in the interest of which the dinner was given, and hope it would enjoy uninterrupted prosperity.

In August, 1858, Mr. Goodenough, the Toronto merchant who had accompanied Mr. Rarey to England, returned home, their partnership not having been profitable to Mr. Rarey, as he did not assist in any way in the exhibitions.

#### SOME GUESSES AS TO HIS METHOD.

With all the praise of Mr. Rarey, there came also the attempt to imitate and to teach what he was teaching. One of these imitators was so bold that Mr. Rarey authorized the Messrs. Tattersall to pay one thousand guineas to any man who could satisfy them that he was able to teach the Rarey method of horse-taming unless he had first learned it from Mr. Rarey. This offer brought some amusing claims. A. V. D. Way, a German who was teaching modern languages in Dublin, wrote:

"Having seen Mr. Rarey's letter, these lines are to state that that gentleman's secret consists in looking sharply into the eyes of the horse to be tamed and giving him some bread or other soft eatable, moistened with the tamer's own sweat. He looks sharply into the eyes of the horse because the horse cannot bear the brilliancy of the human eye, seeks to avoid the same and becomes by this manner afraid of the tamer, and begins to become tamer and tamer. He gives him some bread or other things moistened with sweat in order to make him do everything he likes, even to follow him like a dog, which the horse does as soon as he has eaten something having the flavor of the tamer's sweat. It is possible that Mr. Rarey employs but one of these two named, but that can be no reason why the promised thousand guineas should not be paid to me.



I knew this secret these twenty-five years and having, therefore, not learned it from Mr. Rarey, either directly or indirectly, I hope and trust I will hear from you by return post. Pardon me this trouble, gentlemen, and believe me your humble ob'd't servant

A. V. D. WAY, from Germany.

"P. S. It strikes me that Mr. Rarey may say or think some words in using the above, which words nobody might be able to guess, done in order to avoid the payment of the 1000 guineas, but these words or other things are of no effect and can be omitted.

A. V. D. WAY."

Another letter, written from the Bristol Coffee House, ran:

"Believing that I have discovered Mr. Rarey's method of taming horses, I have taken the liberty of communicating with you upon the subject, and of course, if I am correct, laying claim to the offered reward. If I am right, it is neither more nor less than the use of magnifying spectacles, placed over the eyes of the animal so as to terrify him with the apparent immensity of objects. I have been led into this belief from the fact of my often having seen horses in the Crimea brought to a sudden stand and exhibit great symptoms of terror at sight of a camel, and the well known retentiveness of memory in the horse would assist in strengthening me in my belief. Mr. Rarey's remark, as reported, about Cruiser being about to have been deprived of sight also is an additional reason, because Mr. Rarey's audience would at once have seen the inutility of depriving an animal of the only organ through which a wholesome and yet human dread could be imparted. Awaiting the honor of your reply (prevent the publication of this idea, if it should but slightly differ from Mr. Rarey's mode) I am, gentlemen, your humble ob'd't servant,

N. CORRINGSBY."

The only excuse for the prevalence of any mystery about Mr. Rarey's method of training horses was his effort, in the earlier days of his career, to protect himself financially. He gave lessons for a fee and sold a little book of instructions and required every one who bought a book to pledge himself to keep the book private, not to let anybody read it and, in handling horses, to prevent anybody from learning the secret and not to instruct anybody in his art. Later, when his purposes had been served, he publicly released everybody from the pledge and was glad to have the rule of kindness everywhere proclaimed and practiced.

Brooklyn

19 Oct. 1860

Dear Sir,

I should like to  
have an additional Room  
on the 1st subject as I  
have Town House I want  
to sell.

Yrs faithfully

Wm. W. W.

Mr. Palmerston

A Letter from Lord Palmerston.

No. 1. 1860  
Tues

My dear Mr. Tracy

I am glad to

call upon you, might I

ask you to come here

at 12, as I expect Miss

Blunt, and Mr. Spence

to join us, and to bring the

I might call upon them, as

have to find the way to the

I have sent the letter to the

care of the publisher.

Yrs

Wm. W.

A Letter from Lord Dufferin.

In his earlier study of the nature of the horse, Mr. Rarey observed that the animal acts upon knowledge received through his senses, seeing, hearing, smelling and feeling; that he uses the nose as human beings do the hand to touch and feel every object that is new to him and determine whether or not it is something to be feared. In his boyhood, Mr. Rarey once turned a team of driving horses into a lot, in which there were two or three stumps, on one of which he had thrown a buffalo robe. The first horse, seeing the robe, was frightened. He ran to a point as far away from the robe as he could get and, with head extended, walked around and around the stump, each time getting a little nearer, until he could touch the robe with his nose. On the first contact, he jumped back but, seeing that it did not move, he touched it again, finally seizing it with his teeth and tossing it up and then jumping back again. After learning that the robe could not harm him, the horse seized the robe and dragged it about the lot. That was the boy's first lesson in the nature of the horse, but it was most valuable. It was the foundation stone of his whole theory.

So, in his lectures he declared that the only way to tame or to train a horse is to work with, and not against, his intelligence, "for the horse has intelligence and every good trait of character which, if cultivated, will make him kind, docile and gentle." The horse must become acquainted with the person or object before he can have confidence, and his only means to acquaintanceship are the senses. So, in coming into the presence of a strange horse, Mr. Rarey approached slowly, spoke gently, and stroked him lightly and kindly. Having established friendship with the horse, he proceeded to prove to the animal that he was master. For this purpose he used two straps and a surcingle. One strap he buckled around the fetlock, raising one front foot; then he adjusted the surcingle around the horse's body, fastened the second strap, with a running loop, to the other foreleg, passing the end through the surcingle and held it in his hand. Thus, at the desired moment, he brought the horse to his knees and then to a lying posture. There were times when this was done with great difficulty, but firmness, courage and kindness always won sooner or later; and when the horse recognized that his

friend was also his master, there was no further trouble. The muscles of the animal's legs relaxed, and the trainer's head was as safe at the horse's heels as it would have been on a downy pillow. Of course, there was nothing in the invention of the straps or in the recumbent posture, except that no other practical mode had been discovered, at once and lastingly to subdue the force and stubbornness of the animal, without a violent contest which must always irritate, frighten and perhaps ruin the most gentle subject.

Replying to the charge that he used drugs, magic and witchcraft, Mr. Rarey, in one of his lectures, said: "The absurdity of this notion is apparent when we consider that, if the horse could be tamed by any of these methods, we could apply them with the same efficacy upon children — upon the human family. If any man tells you that he has a recipe for taming horses, try it upon yourself and judge of its effect upon the horse. If you are not knocked to the ground by the potency of the drug, then believe me it will have no more effect upon the horse."

Mr. Rarey did not claim to be able, in a single lesson, to redeem a horse forever from vicious ways. What he did do was to indicate beyond all possibility of doubt the true mode of treatment. He had to leave to others, by constant and patient repetition, to lead the once unruly and evil-minded horse to that constant and kindly service of which, as he believed, every animal is capable.

#### OTHER ENGLISH EXPERIENCES.

It was in 1858 that an American circus visited London and, with a view to drawing patronage, hired Cruiser of Mr. Rarey for exhibition in the ring. The horse was to be managed by Mr. Cook, the ringmaster. In due course, the latter came forward and briefly recounted the wonderful history of the animal, exhibiting to the audience the heavy muzzle and chain halter with which he had been confined. Then he gave a signal for the entrance of Cruiser. There was a suppressed murmur of voices for a moment, the doors were swung back and Cruiser, with every eye fixed on him, walked quietly into the ring, led by the groom. Mr. Cook attempted to show the several details



of the Rarey process, but did his work at arm's length and manifested such bungling and trepidation that there was trouble. Mr. Cook made three ineffectual attempts to strap up the nigh fore leg and then, to make Cruiser more obedient, gave him a gentle cut with his whip. That was enough to arouse the horse's anger, irritated and nervous as he was in the glare of the gas lights, the rustling crowd and the music of the band. His eyes flashed fire in an instant and, with one desperate plunge, he freed his leg from the strap. His white teeth were uncovered and, with a cry of rage, he rushed upon the terrified ringmaster who turned

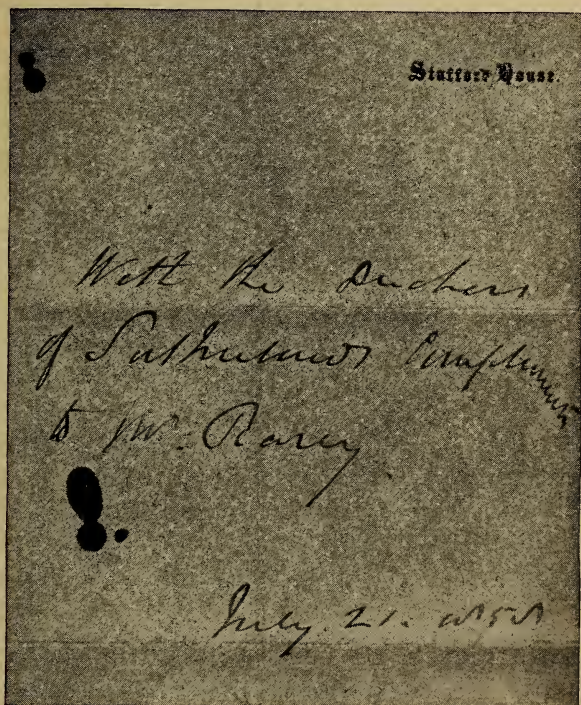


Gold-backed Portfolio and Gold Inkwell Presented to Mr. Rarey by the Duchess of Sutherland.

and fled from the ring, with his assistant. Cruiser then had the freedom of the premises and leaped from one side of the ring to the other in a high state of excitement. A panic seized the audience, for there was only a low barrier for their protection. They rushed over the backs of the seats toward the exits; two or three mothers threw their children over into the boxes to save their lives, and not a few shrieks were uttered by the affrighted women.

Up to this time, Mr. Rarey, who had gone to the circus to see how Cruiser would behave himself in public, had sat calmly looking on; but when matters got to their worst, he left his seat

and went down into the ring. The crowd paused to see the result. Mr. Rarey stood as still as a statue, holding up his hand and calling, "Cruiser! Cruiser!" The horse looked uneasily at the motionless figure but, soon recognizing the voice, approached slowly, extending his nose. Mr. Rarey let him approach and, when he was quite near, went to him, stroking him softly on the



Duchess of Sutherland's Note Transmitting Her Gifts.

face. The maddened horse was again an affectionate slave and in three minutes was lying prostrate with Mr. Rarey cracking the whip about his ears with perfect impunity. The result of the evening's adventure was the conviction that the most perfect system of horse-taming, or of doing anything else, is absolutely valueless, if put into the hands of persons who lack the courage, patience and judgment which are indispensable in reducing it to

practice. It is needless to add that Cruiser was not again permitted to appear in that circus.

One of the most thrilling of the exhibitions that Mr. Rarey gave in England was given November 9, 1859, when he tamed a powerful and beautiful thoroughbred stallion. It was, said a chronicler of the event, a mortal combat between man and beast. The moment the animal appeared, it was evident that the tamer's powers would be tested to the utmost. The horse looked at the audience, stood on his hind feet and ploughed up the ground; he roared in fury and kicked; he snapped at the groom and at Mr. Rarey and bit his own flesh severely in his passion. He tore to pieces every strap put upon him, hurling to the ground the groom who had come to Mr. Rarey's assistance. At one time the horse broke completely away and stood for a moment a victor in the midst of the excited audience. Two men came to Mr. Rarey's aid, but they were unable to hold the animal which scattered men and everything else around him like chaff. He was bathed in white foam and clouds of vapor arose from his body. At one moment he tossed up the straw, at another he sent the strong barriers flying; for a time he stood alone in the arena, roaring furiously and tearing with his teeth at everything within reach. Mr. Rarey, having rested from the first encounter, approached the horse, and then began a contest which no one who witnessed it can ever forget. It was a struggle of art and tact against overwhelming strength. For an hour the battle continued; now the man had gained the mastery, now the horse; the animal, touching the earth, seemed to derive fresh strength. At last, Mr. Rarey extemporized a strap from the fragments of the broken bridle and gained his first step to conquest. Still the horse fought fiercely, rising and plunging in all directions, endeavoring to bite his tamer or trample him down. A long struggle ensued. The contest had lasted an hour and a half, when at length the horse stood quiet, thoroughly subdued, allowing Mr. Rarey to strike his front and hind hoofs together, to jump over him and pull him about at will. After mounting the horse and concluding his lecture from that position, Mr. Rarey led him around the arena with a straw. The exhibition proved that, whatever tact and science he possessed, he also had most extraor-



dinary muscular power, coolness and courage. No ordinary man would have ventured to contend to the last with so formidable and dangerous an antagonist. On this occasion, as on all when Mr. Rarey appeared, there was in a measure a reproduction of the exciting scenes of the Roman amphitheater, with none of the cruelty. There were the beautiful horses entering the arena, with flying mane and dilated nostrils—wild, vicious, neighing, snorting, pawing the earth and placing themselves in a succession of fine attitudes, rushing sometimes at, and sometimes away from the man who was to show that he was their master. For the most part, the horses were brought before the audience without any preparation, not even the trainer knowing beforehand the character of the animal. This plan gave to each performance the interest of originality and put to the greatest test the judgment and skill of the tamer.

There were those who thought Mr. Rarey took risks too great, particularly when, in demonstrating his complete mastery of the horse, he was accustomed to put his head between the horse's hoofs. This latter brought to Mr. Rarey an anonymous protest which is marked by such admiration and good will that it is worth reproducing. It read:

"SIR: The interest and admiration with which I witnessed your exhibition on Saturday last induce me to take the liberty of animadverting on one part of it. No doubt, your great experience enables you to judge with a certain approximation to accuracy of the degree of submission to which you have brought a horse. But still, as no rule is without an exception, I was sorry to see you run an apparent risk that was quite unnecessary, when you lay down with your head between the animal's hind hoofs. The act was striking—and why? Because every one felt he was assisting at a wager, in which you staked your life on your knowledge of a horse's temper. Now, one of two things: Either this implied wager is a real one, in which case all people of reflection would think the chances were too unequal to make it justifiable, no man having a right to risk his life without an adequate motive; or it is a certainty and, in point of fact, without any risk at all. And in this latter case I cannot but feel that an action which seems an appeal to the vulgar feeling which takes delight in seeing others in positions of danger that the onlookers would themselves shrink from, is unworthy of the reality, the absence of sham and humbug that characterize the rest of your proceedings. As a further excuse for the liberty I am taking, allow



me to mention that, having just now described your victory over the King of Oude and also expressed the feeling that I have above stated to two ladies (one of whom was a pupil of yours last year), it is in obedience to their commands that I thus write. It is useless to sign my name, but permit me to subscribe myself an admirer of pluck, daring and intelligence."

#### TRIUMPHS ON THE CONTINENT.

In the fall of 1858, Mr. Rarey went to Paris where his fame had preceded him. The Emperor appointed a commission to witness and report on the American's performances, and speedily was assured that the method was rational and successful. Mr. Rarey's most notable single achievement there was the taming of Stafford, a fiery and utterly intractable half-blood, about six years old. His great strength and ferocity made it dangerous even to approach him and for a year he had been kept closely confined. A numerous assembly, comprising nearly all the members of the Jockey Club, and many noble and distinguished personages, was present when Stafford, rearing and plunging in such a manner as to tax the strength of two grooms, was brought in. As a further precaution the animal had been carefully blindfolded, and he was in an utterly vicious mood when turned over to the trainer. An hour and a half later, Mr. Rarey rode the horse guided by a simple bridle. He then dismounted, unbridled the horse and led him around the arena as if he had been the most docile omnibus horse. "His submission," said a writer of the time, "was the effect neither of fear nor constraint, but simply of confidence and affection." This performance won for Mr. Rarey the applause of Paris; the Emperor caused his name to be inscribed for 2000 francs on the subscription list, and in two days a class of more than five thousand was organized. Theophile Gautier, the distinguished novelist, was one of Mr. Rarey's admirers and in *Le Moniteur Universel*, January 21, 1860, paid him a tribute from which this is quoted:

"Assurance, thorough knowledge of the horse, the art of statics and, let me repeat, a personal influence, magnetic and fascinating, seem to me the means employed by Rarey. He astonishes, paralyzes, tires and charms the horse, he convinces him logically of his inability to defend himself. However, are the animals subdued for long or permanently? The lesson forgotten, will they return to their former character? Will another

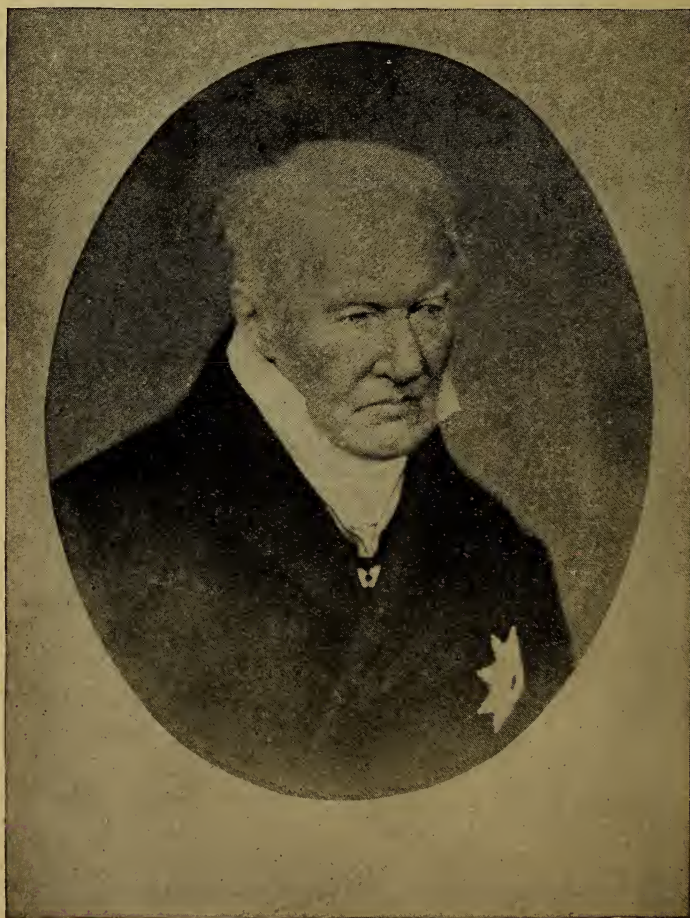
than Rarey be able effectively to apply the system? I am unable to say, and experience only can answer the questions. What pleases me in the method of this American subduer is that it is humane—no nose torture, no bridling, no whip with cutting thongs, no spurs with sharp points, no post of suffering, nothing but kindness, the moral victory, the throwing and the idea of inferiority, suggested to the animal in the succession of his futile efforts.”

Mr. Rarey's visit to Stockholm was characterized by an unusually warm reception by the Prince Regent, afterwards King, who took occasion to say, on Mr. Rarey's presentation, that he had been attentively reading the different accounts of his performances and that he had already selected a subject for reformation—a remarkably spirited animal of Arabian and English thoroughbred stock, which though four years old, had never been broken, except to be led, if gently treated, by the halter. The time was set for the test, and the royal riding school was especially prepared by the addition of splendid carpets and sofas to the already magnificent furniture. The issue was the same as it had been so often before. The animal was subdued, and the Prince Regent and his guests had an exciting experience that brought them to their feet in approval. When it was all over, the Prince Regent summoned Mr. Rarey, put many questions regarding the treatment of horses and finally presented to him a medal as a token of special regard. It was a medal bearing the motto, “*Illis quorum meruere labores*”—a social distinction, conferring upon the wearer special privileges in visiting the royal palaces and arsenals, commanding everywhere regard from the servants of the King.

In Berlin, Mr. Rarey had a similarly cordial reception by the Prince Regent, later King of Prussia, who alluded to the exhibition he had witnessed in London on the evening before the marriage of the Princess Royal. He gave exhibitions in the royal riding school before members of the Court. In the audience was Baron Alexander von Humboldt, distinguished scientist, who later, on being invited by the American minister to dine with Mr. Rarey, expressed the hope that he would be “polite enough to live to be present.” That desire was gratified and, in responding to a toast, the venerable scholar declared with

much feeling his admiration for America, adding that he had always considered himself at least half American.

A most pressing invitation to visit Russia came to Mr. Rarey



BARON ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

Who signally honored Mr. Rarey when he visited Berlin.

from Colonel Baron de Wercinski, who told of the vast number of the Czar's cavalry and the great difficulty of breaking the horses from the steppes as well as of many noblemen who, being



fond of horses, maintained stables, in recruiting for which both men and animals were killed. Mr. Rarey, he was sure, could be a great benefactor of the horse empire, if he would come and introduce his system. In response to this, Mr. Rarey went to St. Petersburg, bearing so many credentials that he was brought at once to the notice of men most likely to further his project. He went immediately to the residence of Baron Meyendorff, equerry of the Czar, whom he found on the point of going to the Neva to witness some national sports. Without ceremony, Mr. Rarey was invited to take a seat in the sleigh which proceeded to the river as fast as three spirited horses abreast could draw it. There he saw thousands of the nobility and common people at play. On the solid surface of the ice were erected large buildings which seemed intended to last for centuries rather than to serve the temporary purpose of a winter season. Thousands of gay turnouts, filled with ladies, half-buried in costly furs, showed the presence of the wealthy classes, while the prominent stands designated the nobility. The race-track was a circle marked on the ice by green boughs and around the entire ring congregated the peasantry on foot or in sleighs. Here Mr. Rarey observed that trotting was the national pastime and he saw many horses whose speed would have made them notable anywhere. The style was three abreast, the center horse ornamented with a towering yoke, decorated with gay streamers and a tinkling bell. After the more formal races had been run, there were scrub races which offered some unexpected amusement, the hilarity reaching a climax when three half-tamed horses from the steppes, entered by an obscure peasant, beat the record of the best horses of the Neva. The crowd went wild over the achievement, and the young sprigs of nobility, crowding around the owner of the winning horses, carried him about on their shoulders and at last took him off in triumph to the Czar.

Then came the Laplanders, with reindeer drawing rude sleighs, who offered for a small sum to give anybody a turn around the circle. Many crowded in, and away the loaded sleighs went at high speed. The deer were perfectly trained and seemed to enter into the sport with all the spirit of the jolly throng and their happy masters.



A few days after this pleasant introduction to Russian life, Mr. Rarey received from the Czar an order to go to one of the imperial preserves and bring in a wild horse of the steppes that the Cossacks had designed for the imperial stables — an animal so wild that he had been left to roam in a deer park. Accompanied by Colonel Leffer, the head of the horse department, and two other officers, Mr. Rarey proceeded to the park. Servants drove the horse into an enclosure that served as a shelter in inclement weather, and Mr. Rarey entered alone and barricaded the door. The contest, marked by the usual screaming and biting, lasted for two hours, but the man was victor and rode the animal to St. Petersburg. The astonished Czar congratulated him and arranged for a private exhibition.

At the appointed time and place, two peasants brought into the presence of the Czar and his court another animal, the wildest the steppes could produce. He came rearing, plunging, kicking and biting, and Mr. Rarey went quietly to meet him, laying his hand on the animal's neck, passing it gently over his ears and directly ordering the peasants to loose their hold on the ropes. As the horse lost his fierceness, the Czar looked on in amazement and asked the peasants, half sternly, half humorously, why they could not thus handle the horse. To this they could only reply that Mr. Rarey must be in league with the devil.

#### IN ENGLAND AGAIN.

Returning to England, Mr. Rarey gave a series of demonstrations at the Royal Alhambra Palace, London, attracting large audiences and subduing many vicious horses, including the King of Oude, whose owner, Mr. Parr, had decided to have him shot, after a vicious assault in which a groom and a pony had been nearly killed. As a last effort to save the horse, Mr. Parr took him to the American trainer. The horse was brought in by two grooms, each holding a leathern thong of considerable length attached to a cruel iron bit; at the end of the struggle, he was meekly following wherever the trainer led and welcoming all sorts of liberties with his head and heels. The Suffolk cart horse that had won several prizes at the Royal Agricultural Society's meeting, but had killed one of his grooms and severely

injured another, was in half an hour brought into complete subjection. Before taming a stylish coach horse of Sheffield, Mr. Rarey read to the audience a letter from the owner to the effect



THE DUKE OF ATHOLE.

that the horse objected to everything except an abundance of corn and an unlimited range of pasture; that no one dared to groom him, to ride him was death and to approach him was to

be bitten. But after the usual contest, Mr. Rarey leaped on the horse's back and remained there, in spite of the animal's most violent efforts to dislodge him. When the horse reared, the trainer threw himself forward; when he kicked, he was allowed free scope; when he attempted to run away, he was turned round and round. Once the trainer let the horse go at full gallop down the course, to the evident consternation of the audience; but just as the animal's nose touched the rope which marked rather than made the barrier, Mr. Rarey brought him back to his haunches, as if by a powerful brake, and then a similar charge was made in the opposite direction. The trainer's horsemanship was perfect. It delighted the audience, and it ultimately convinced the horse that his master was upon his back.

At Manchester, three difficult subjects were offered to him in one day. One of them was a little cob sire that was never trusted without a muzzle; and so confident was the owner of the animal's power to foil the American that he advertised the coming combat at his own expense that his friends might all be there to see the pony win. The latter was turned unmuzzled into the arena, and flew twice at the trainer with all the fury of a mastiff. Mr. Rarey eluded the animal the first time and caught it as it rose on its legs for the second spring. Then followed the usual proceedings of getting acquainted, winning the pony's friendship and finally gaining the mastery. It was all so easily and quickly done that the great crowd that had gathered, most of them to scoff, went away wondering and admiring.

Mr. Rarey toured England, Ireland and Scotland, visiting the Duke and Duchess of Athole, at their beautiful estate, Dunkeld, on the river Tay. That estate was one of the most showy places in the world, containing many thousand acres of pleasure ground, with a hundred miles of walks and drives — a place where the nobility delighted to gather and where Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had visited for weeks at a time. Game was abundant and in his park the duke had twenty thousand deer. Hunting and deer-stalking, in company with the duke and his royal guests, were among the pleasures enjoyed by Mr. Rarey there. Thence he went to the Shetland Islands, where he bought five of the smallest ponies to be found, one of which he subsequently gave



to an Englishman famed for his undeviating kindness and courtesy to travelers from America. The Glasgow Citizen, October 22, 1859, paid him this tribute:

"In appearance Mr. Rarey is decidedly prepossessing, being about five feet, nine inches in height, light-haired, light-complexioned, with intelligent eyes, an open countenance and a manner that won the audience from the moment that he raised his hat and unaffectedly acknowledged their plaudits. He is singularly young for the noise he has made in the world, his age being only thirty-one. He did more to put down the harsh and improper treatment of the horse than all the societies formed for this purpose and all the sermons preached against cruelty to animals. As for Cruiser, he is a fine thoroughbred animal, conscious of blood, conscious also, evidently, of the admiration he is accustomed to excite, but without any indication of vice about him."

In Glasgow, Mr. Rarey gave a free lecture to the cabmen and carters, for which he was presented with a handsome testimonial by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The clergymen of Edinburgh attended his lecture, and so strong an impression did his method make that they preached sermons in which they alluded to his success as exemplifying the power of love and kindness.

#### IN ARABIA AND THE EAST.

Leaving Great Britain, Mr. Rarey went again to Paris, gave four exhibitions, declined splendid offers to lecture in the French provinces, pushed on to Rome and Naples and, by way of Sicily and Malta, to Alexandria. In the second week in February, 1860, he was sailing up the Nile toward Cairo. It was just the season for turning the Arab horses out to grass, and there they stood up to their knees in it (with an ever-shifting background of camels, donkeys and buffaloes, on whose back three or four dusky urchins might be seen riding home at nightfall), mile after mile in bay, chestnut and flea-bitten gray platoons, about five yards apart, and tethered to stakes by one fore and both hind legs, so as just to command their allotted range of herbage. At Cairo his stay was very limited, although he received a pressing invitation from the Viceroy of Egypt to visit him at his country seat higher up the river; but to gaze on the high-caste "children



of the star" was his sole mission, and he had no time to linger. He accordingly went at once with his party across the Great Desert to the shores of the Red sea and, taking leave of them there, merely stepped aside to see the pyramids, as he retraced his steps to Alexandria.

Thence he sailed to a port near Jaffa, and proceeded to Jerusalem. It was on a picturesque grassy knoll, hard by a grove of olives, that he gave the Pacha a specimen of his art. The latter had ordered out for his inspection four of his best mares of the purest Nedgedee caste and, after Mr. Rarey had ridden one, a spirited gray, he took a brown horse from the hands of the attendant eunuch and, with the aid of the two little straps, made the animal follow him all about the pasture. The gray, whose ragged hips and long neck did not improve her, was a little over fifteen hands high and so highly valued that her master had refused a thousand pounds for her.

Then followed an excursion to the Dead sea, which was somewhat spoiled by a party of Bedouins, who descended on the tent and cooking utensils, made the cook stand and deliver his watch and maltreated the solitary soldier for saucily remonstrating. Mr. Rarey and his party were some miles ahead at the time; but the former learned from the incident the lesson of caution and left all of his possessions in Damascus when later, accompanied only by Major Frazer, of lion-hunting fame, and an interpreter, he spent several days in the desert in search of horse lore, riding up to every encampment he could descry and trusting for food and a night's lodging to the sheiks of the villages.

At Beyrout, on his return, he found the best Arab he had seen on his travels, among a lot of twenty which some Sardinian officers had got together for their king. Rhodes and Smyrna had little to show in this way; but at Constantinople, he found several studs, principally saddle-horses, where the animals were thoroughly understood and scientifically handled. The Arabs had disappointed him. Their intimate life with the horse from the animal's birth had given them complete mastery, but he doubted if they had thought out any system or discovered any principle by which they could handle a horse entirely new to

them. He was confirmed in this belief by the helplessness and fright they showed when the stallion he was riding on the tour refused, one morning, to let one of them bridle him. The Prophet was invoked in vain, and finally Mr. Rarey had to be summoned from the tent of the sheik where he was eating brown bread and wild honey, to put matters to right — a matter of no great difficulty when the crowd of agitated turbans had been thrust back a space.

But Mr. Rarey found beauty in other things as well as in the horse. He tells in his diary of camping one night close to the foot of Mount Hermon at the upper fountain of the Jordan. Proceeding thence at daybreak on the road to Damascus, they saw Arab villages built like swallows' nests on the edge of the mountain cliff. He met tall, dark-skinned, white-bearded fathers, bearing themselves like princes and driving their flocks of goats, sheep and cattle down the winding mountain paths to graze in the meadows below. With one of these patriarchs was a beautiful Arab girl sitting astride a proud, prancing steed and affectionately looking to the care of the kids, whose heads came to the top of the pockets on either side of the saddle on which she sat. Her picturesque attire — handsome red jacket, full blue trousers and thin veil head covering, which she drew closely about her face, almost hiding her regular features — completed the splendid picture this child of nature made. The men he found to be intelligent and manly specimens of their kind.

During his stay in Constantinople, Mr. Rarey was a guest at the Sultan's palace, where he drank coffee with his hosts and smoked a pipe whose amber mouthpiece was set with diamonds.

#### FAREWELL TO ENGLAND.

Returning to England in the spring of 1860, Mr. Rarey found himself even more famous than when he left. The news of his trip had preceded him. Colonel Thomas Seymour wrote: "Since his return, men and not horses have gone wild. If he could find a way of training the Cruisers of mankind, Christianity would assign him a place among the Apostles." Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch*, wrote: "I feel proud of knowing you and still prouder that I can call you my friend." Both in text and picture,

Punch paid tribute to the young American and reflected the general applause. J. M. Browker, of Calcutta, editor of the *Indian Field*, offered his services in arranging a class, if Mr. Rarey would visit India and give a course of lessons in horse-training. The invitation was declined, but Mr. Rarey was glad to give lessons to Captain Beresford who was later employed to carry the art to India. P. C. French, of Southampton wrote: "It is to be hoped that the horse will be henceforth better under-



THE SWEDISH MEDAL.



THE ENGLISH MEDAL.

Two Medals Presented to Mr. Rarey.

stood and better treated. The subject is now constantly discussed, and a dinner seldom passes without your name being mentioned in connection with this wonderful power you possess." C. Goodchild, of Enfield, wrote, asking for an interview, and saying that he could not otherwise tell of the good he had received from the lectures; he had successfully employed the method in the training of two ponies and a horse.

For a free lecture to the cabmen and omnibus drivers of London, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

Animals presented to Mr. Rarey a splendid gold medal. The government employed him to teach his method to two classes of cavalry, and so the method was communicated to the entire army. Resisting many invitations to make England his home, he decided to return to his native land and, on October 27, 1860, gave a farewell lecture to an audience of 8,000 in Crystal Palace. In the course of his remarks, he thanked England for the great kindness he had experienced and hoped that the introduction of his method had been of advantage to the cause of humanity. He had always sympathized with the noble horse and he was delighted that he had been able to prove that so much might be done by kindness. Returning to America, he would bear the most grateful feelings toward the English people.

With the esteem of all he had met and unspoiled by their praise, Mr. Rarey took passage for New York. The Herald of November 11, 1860, hailed him as "the subjugator of vicious steeds, the recipient of honors and decorations from royal and imperial hands, the tutor of chevaliers and dames with equestrian tastes, the wearer of medals awarded by several humane societies of England and Scotland, the modern Centaur." "He is returning," continued the Herald, "after a three years' absence, during which he astonished high and low with proofs of his wondrous skill in taming refractory brutes. A cavalcade of our best horse-men and Amazons can be formed to escort this American prince of horse-tamers from the Battery to the Fifth Avenue Hotel. And why should we not honor Mr. Rarey with a grand reception. He is one of those men whose talents have helped to make our country famous in other lands. In fact, in all departments of art and science, Americans have shown themselves first among the foremost. In his own useful way, Mr. Rarey has outstripped all the world. The very Arab marvels at his influence over the horse, and calls upon Allah to attest his wonderful power. Is it not then highly proper that we should extend a fitting reception to the great horse-tamer? We feel assured that our suggestion will be acted on and that Mr. Rarey will meet a welcome worthy of him."



March 17 1882  
 I have understood Mr  
 Percy's treatment on  
 the horses belonging  
 to me this day and  
 his pleasure in  
 stating that his  
 success was complete  
 and most interesting  
 to me as he knows the  
 individual animals

and to my friends who  
 were present.  
 It is truly necessary  
 to mention that Mr  
 Percy denied me  
 assistance from the  
 Cleveland Club.  
 Wellington

Letter of Commendation from the Duke of Wellington.

## THE AMERICAN TOUR.

The return of Mr. Rarey, accompanied by Cruiser, now his constant companion, was an event in New York. In his head there may have been running the lines of a song some generous Britisher had written and set to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." Two of the stanzas were:

"The daily news that we receive  
Has set some people frantic,  
Tho' all we hear we don't believe  
That crosses the Atlantic;  
But facts are stubborn things, I guess,  
And tho' opinions vary,  
Each correspondent of the press  
Speaks well of Mr. Rarey.

Mr. Rarey comes to town  
To tame both horse and pony—  
He'll play the drum and make them dance  
Like Madame Taglione.

"No doubt there will be many go  
To witness Rarey's system  
Of taming brutes by kindness, and  
With no one to assist him;  
I hope he'll have a bumper, which  
We safely may declare he  
Deserves for his humanity—  
Success to Mr. Rarey!"

At any rate, having prepared for a continuance of his good work in "Yankee Doodle" land by offering a reward of \$100 for the most vicious horse brought to him, he hurried off to Groveport to spend the Christmas vacation at home. In January he returned to New York and at Niblo's Garden gave a series of exhibitions with Cruiser, his Shetland ponies and such vicious horses as were brought to him. Here, as elsewhere in his talks, Mr. Rarey declared, as the reporter for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper put it, that "the horse is a creature of impressions; if he fears you, he will run away, if he is angry with you, he will attack you—he is a child in intellect and must be treated like one. Brute force can never tame a horse completely—there

32, Brunswick Square,  
N. C.  
Oct. 14. 1860.  
My dear Mary  
I spent the day  
Monday night at-  
The Garrick Club  
King, these Corant  
Garden at 6.30-  
Yours Faithfully  
John Leech  
P. S. Mary -  
I am just off to Brighton  
but return to-morrow, on  
a Sunday morning -

Letter from John Leech, Famous  
Illustrator.

2, Hamilton Place W.  
May 21. 1857  
Dear Mr. Mary  
I shall make  
a point of paying  
you a visit before  
4 lectures are over  
I hope to see  
you on the 26th  
Yours  
G. W. Taylor  
Stafford

Letter from the Marquis of Stafford.

is always a sore spot left which will break out at the first opportunity. The horse must be convinced by humane treatment and undeviating firmness that man is his natural master." A wild South American pony, a vicious stallion believed by his owner, E. Luff, of Harlem Lane, to be "the worst animal in the world," unbroken colts and an iron gray, "as big as the Great Eastern" were all successfully treated with varying degrees of ease.

#### PRAISED BY INTELLECTUALS.

Having instructed, entertained and convinced New York, Mr. Rarey moved on to Boston, where he gave similar lectures and demonstrations. Like the horses, the intellectuals of that city were soon at his feet. Said the *Courier* of that city:

"Whatever credit may be due—and doubtless much credit is due to others for their contributions in the way of observation and experiment to the new method of horse-taming—it is Mr. Rarey alone who can justly claim the admiration and gratitude of the world for having sifted, analyzed, harmonized and co-ordinated all the isolated facts into a complete and rational method. These facts lay scattered in the brains of horse-breakers throughout the world, but they were used empirically, applied in ignorance of their true value and in conjunction with cruel, barbarous and absurd practices, which went far to neutralize their effect and obscure their true relation and value. \* \* \* The Rarey rules are not abstruse or difficult of apprehension. They are capable of being simply stated and easily learned, but they are far from being so easily applied. The difficulty, however, lies not in the rules themselves, but in the nature of man. The first and great one, without compliance with which all the others avail but little, is complete self-control on the part of him who would succeed as a trainer of horses. The Bible tells us that he who ruleth himself is greater than he who taketh a city, and the fame of the conquerors of Monterey and Mexico show how great by the popular voice are the city takers. Now, greater than these, if we accept the dictum of Holy Writ, is Rarey, the horse-tamer, and so great must every man be who would rival him. If an ambition to rank among the subduers of horses shall cause an augmentation of those who can keep their temper, this will not be one of the least of the benefits for which the world will have to thank Mr. Rarey."

From William Lloyd Garrison, the distinguished publicist, who spent many of the best years of his life in the abolition cause, came the following letter, under date of April 5, 1861:



"I was much gratified at the brief interview had with you this forenoon, as it deepened my conviction of your fitness to teach the world a great and everywhere needed lesson of humanity, whereby in teaching them how to subdue the most refractory animals, men might learn to govern their own passions, and thus substitute the law of love for the spirit of brutality. The modesty of your deportment also evinced the possession of self-respect and self-reliance, which are the antagonism of self-seeking and self-glorification, and quite essential to the character of a true philanthropist and reformer.

"I can only renew the expression of my deep interest in your humane mission, hoping that your labors will be extended to every part of Christendom and that your life, as benefactor and redcemer, may be long spared. For all that you are doing for the relief and true government of the noblest and at the same time the most abused and overtasked of the animal race, allow me, in parting, pleasantly to invoke for you (if you will excuse the pun) the horsepitality of the world—by which I mean, may you meet with a kind and hearty reception wherever you travel.

"Yours, to augment human happiness and lessen animal suffering,

"WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON."

Another interesting Boston letter was from E. H. Hepworth, who wrote:

"I want to express my gratitude for the exhibition of last week. I feel that you are accomplishing a great good. I have always loved the horse and have suffered great pain in seeing him frequently abused. I cannot help feeling that he is a noble animal and that his reasoning power is far beyond what is commonly acknowledged. The Arab gets more out of his horse than the American can, and the Arabian horse is said to know more than any other animal. But I have for a time thought that the difference is one, or rather mostly one, of education. We do not yet know what our horses are capable of doing and being, because we mostly spoil them in 'bringing up.' I have to express the hope that all who have to do with horses will hear and heed you, and remain your obedient servant,

"E. H. HEPWORTH."

#### IN CHICAGO AND PHILADELPHIA.

The throng that gathered in Bryan Hall, Chicago, December 21, 1861, went with the same incredulity that marked the mental attitude of audiences elsewhere. Many went, as they confessed, to see Mr. Rarey fail. After the trainer had explained his method of handling Cruiser, a narrative which was listened to

with rapt attention by the immense audience, a large, wicked-looking black horse was brought onto the platform, which had been covered with boards topped with sawdust and protected by a barricade and hempen cable. The animal was addicted to biting and kicking and not drawing quietly in harness. Only a day or two before, while working beside another animal, this horse had kicked himself free of harness and wagon and attacked his mate with his teeth, and had been beaten away with clubs. When brought out by the assistants, he paused, gazed at the thousands of human faces before him, and gave a frantic leap and a series of evolutions. After dragging the trainer several times about the stage, his hind heels more than half of the time in the air, the strap was buckled on, the assistant retired and Mr. Rarey was left alone with the vicious animal. Twenty minutes later, to the wonder and astonishment of the spectators, the horse was being led around the enclosure by a single straw, as docile and submissive as a pet fawn. Mr. Rarey mounted him, got beneath him, put his head between the dangerous hoofs and thrust his bare hand into the animal's mouth. The wild spirit of the horse had apparently been turned to affection.

On January 26, 1862, Mr. Rarey gave a matinee performance to the usual crowded house at Niblo's Garden, New York, taming three vicious horses to the complete satisfaction of the most incredulous. He gave a second demonstration there, donating half the proceeds to the Widows' and Orphans' fund.

His first appearance in Philadelphia was in the Academy of Music, and marked a decided innovation in the history of that institution, the entire equipment of which was turned over to him for three exhibitions. The courts and green rooms, sacred to prima donnas and dashing baritones, were relinquished to intractable stallions, unamiable colts, Shetland ponies and Milesian hostlers. When Mr. Rarey appeared upon the stage, the house was filled to its last seat and all the standing room was occupied. "His voice," wrote a reporter, "was quick and full and could be heard with distinctness almost all over the house. He has a fund of dry humor in his composition that makes his lectures extremely interesting. Cruiser was brought before the audience, led by a single groom, and pranced about with eager-

ness and apparent pride. He is a splendid specimen of horse-flesh, of a beautiful dark bay color, of glossy skin black in the limbs and very straight, an action as full of ease as it is of animation, and with the mild eye that is characteristic of thoroughbred racers. Most of Mr. Rarey's method was illustrated by Cruiser. He was completely successful in his efforts, which were applauded by the spectators."

The second exhibition was attended by even greater delight and enthusiasm, on the part of the audience, than was the first. "Mr. Rarey," said one of the papers of the time, "is rapidly becoming a lion. He is talked of in every circle; even the ladies converse freely of him and horses generally. Music Hall is no longer remembered as a concert, lecture, fair or preaching temple, but as an arena in which equine miracles are performed, as a theatre in which all manner of ugly and vicious horses are subdued and made gentle and plastic. Inasmuch as it teaches the great principle that kindness is greater than force, gentleness than brutality — that a little common sense is better than a great deal of whip — we regard the purpose to which the hall has been put as most excellent. It is as good as so many sermons to teach men to become humane and sensible."

When Mr. Rarey had explained that he had come, not as a gladiator, but as an educator to teach that a horse is bad only as he is badly treated, Cruiser was brought in and made his obeisance to the assembly by gracefully turning his neck, putting forward his right foot and moving his ears back and forth. The next horse afforded a good subject for Mr. Rarey's art. He leaped, kicked, reared and performed other antics showing his intractability, but, as usual, he was soon under control, proving again the virtue of the method of the trainer.

The third exhibition, for which, in spite of the intensely cold weather, the house was again packed, marked the climax in interest; and so insistent were the demands for more that Mr. Rarey consented to remain for two more exhibitions, which were given on the following Thursday and Saturday.

On his second visit to Boston, Mr. Rarey appeared in Music Hall and for five nights the statue of Beethoven looked down upon an unwonted spectacle. "Such things were never dreamed

of," said one writer, "when this magnificent temple was dedicated to Apollo; but, when we remember that, without the horse, the violin and violoncello would be mute, we must concede the noblest of domestic animals the right of entrance upon a stage where horse hair is so potent." In the audiences were representatives of all classes of society. There were, as somebody said, "clergymen, lawyers, merchants, scholars, poets, literary hacks and illiterate hackmen." — ex-President Franklin Pierce, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips and others less distinguished and sooner forgotten. One-half of the proceeds of his final exhibition was given to the charities of the city, and the verdict of the press, when he left was that he had made an indelible impression on the Boston public by the wonderful success of his method, which proved but an illustration of the law of kindness.

"I have not seen," said Ralph Waldo Emerson, "that any of our colleges have bestowed on Mr. Rarey the diploma of Doctor of Laws. Yet what excuse have we, after the exhibition of Mr. Rarey's treatment of the horse, for the use of brute force? He has turned a new leaf in civilization, and I think the Board of Education of Massachusetts would not take an unwise step, if they should engage the master to go to each college and teachers' convention in the state and explain his treatment. What extension, what novelty in his fundamental maxim that he who would deal with a horse must know neither fear nor anger! When I saw his performance, I could not help thinking it was a sort of Aesop's fable and suspecting that he was a very sly satirist and that he must know and feel what sarcastic lessons he was reading schools and universities."

#### GIVES HIS METHOD TO THE ARMY.

Early in December, 1862, Mr. Rarey received the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

December 6, 1862.

"MR. JOHN S. RAREY:

"SIR: You are hereby authorized to visit the Army of the Potomac for the purpose of inspecting the horses and mules of the cavalry, artil-



lery and teams belonging to that army. All officers of the Army of the Potomac are directed to afford every facility to Mr. Rarey to make this inspection.

"By order of Major General Halleck, General-in-Chief.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. C. KELTON, *A. D. G.*"

Mr. Rarey accepted the invitation, made the inspection and communicated to the army officers his method of training the horse. The method was adopted, and its principles are today to be found in the army regulations. Here is an excerpt from Mr. Rarey's diary, written while he was making the inspection:

"On Saturday, December 14, 1862, the third day of the battle, I stood on the bluff of the Rappahannock, this side of Fredericksburg, and witnessed the battle for some time. Two or three shells fell near me. In the afternoon of the same day, through the kindness of Professor Lowe, I went up alone in a balloon to watch the fight. A shot was fired directly at me, but passed under the balloon. Had to change my location."

Returning from the inspection, in the course of which every courtesy had been accorded him, Mr. Rarey gave a lecture in Smith & Nixon's hall, Cincinnati, to one of the largest audiences ever within its walls. The lecture and his mastering of vicious horses were attended with the usual interest and success. In February, 1862, at the request of his nephew, C. W. Fairington, Mr. Rarey went to Havana, where he gave a successful demonstration before a large audience in which were the Captain-General of Cuba and other dignitaries. His talk was interpreted to the audience, but he writes in his diary that he was "convinced that they had no idea or appreciation of my art." At the second exhibition, he had no interpreter. He simply illustrated his method first by attempting to ride the horse before taming him and, second, by taming him and riding him afterward. This aroused their interest, but did not enlighten them as to the method; they clung to the idea that they had witnessed a struggle like a bull-fight. "Probably," he says, "they would have been better pleased, had blood been spilled. I am glad there were present a number of Cubans who were anxious that some of my principles might be instilled into the dumb negroes and low cre-

oles, whose only thought was to beat the poor creatures under them and over which they were permitted to exercise the authority of master."

At Matanzas, before an audience in which there were many appreciative Americans, he subdued a very vicious mule. A Spanish nobleman presented him with a beautiful ring which he said was of great antiquity and was bought from the collection of a French minister, and which showed a fine engraving of the head of Hercules.

Returning to New York, Mr. Rarey gave a series of exhibitions at Niblo's Garden, entertaining on alternate nights with Edwin Forrest, the great tragedian of the day. There offers were made to him for a series of lectures in the United States and Canada, but he declined them, preferring to direct his own activities, lecturing where and when he pleased.

In Allyn Hall, Hartford, Conn., Mr. Rarey gave an exhibition which was notable for his illustration of the proper manner of mounting into the saddle. He condemned the ordinary way of standing off from the horse, approaching him at a right angle and pulling and straining on the saddle to the great danger of turning it over in spite of the girth. The correct way, he said, was to stand close by the horse's shoulder, facing the same way as the horse and then, with left hand on the rein near the bit and right hand over the saddle, rise into the seat by a motion that seems literally as graduated and even as the ascent from one stair to another. Indeed, it seemed to be identical with that motion. There was no perceptible springing or vaulting, but all was as quick and easy as the stepping from one stair up to another. And this he did, with no girth to hold the saddle on.

In September, 1862, Mr. Rarey gave an exhibition in Columbus, Ohio. at the old Atheneum. Of this the *Ohio State Journal* of the 2nd said:

"We do not feel justified in leaving the exhibition of Mr. Rarey's horse-training powers to the brief notice of a local column. His exhibitions are not so much for the show as for the utility that may be derived from them. And no man who has sufficient native capacity to love a spirited and noble horse can witness Mr. Rarey's wonderful display of power over that finely organized animal, without learning much that

is both useful and humane. Mr. Rarey is not empiric in any sense. His method is as truly philosophical as any inductive science can be. As a gentleman, he is sincere, thoughtful and unpretending. He assigns, in clear and direct language, a just and indisputable reason for the propositions he submits, in regard to the training of the noble animal whose whole nature, physiological and psychological, he has so thoroughly and successfully studied. The elaboration of the chemist for the demonstration of the affinities of matter are not more purely scientific than are Mr. Rarey's demonstrations of the philosophical mode of training the powers of the horse to pleasant and profitable subjection to the human will. He is therefore always heard by the most intelligent people with the utmost interest and respect.

"On the present occasion, Mr. Rarey, who is a sound patriot, at the suggestion of certain estimable ladies who are steadily toiling for the good of our soldiers, voluntarily tendered his services for an evening's exhibition as a benefit for the funds of the Soldiers' Aid Society. His offer was gladly accepted; and a splendid benefit it was. The Atheneum was literally packed with one of the most intelligent and genteel audiences that ever assembled in our city. And when it is considered that most of the tickets were at \$1 each, the substantialness of the benefit may be inferred.

"After taming one horse and exhibiting three Shetland ponies, one, a colt, twenty inches high and weighing twenty-one pounds, was brought forward in the arms of a boy; it looked more like a shaggy dog than anything of the genus equinus, though it afterwards cantered about the stage with much activity and grace. Next came the spirited, but spoiled and vicious brute, with which Mr. Rarey was to try conclusions. It was a compact and powerfully built horse, in good condition, but dangerous and vicious beyond all control. His owner sent his character with him and expressed a very reasonable apprehension for Mr. Rarey's safety in handling him. This horse was a total stranger to Mr. Rarey, and the first demonstrations that attended their acquaintance entirely justified the amiability of character that his owner's letter had so honestly certified to. His hind feet were aimed at the reformer's personnel. These exhibitions of the brute's tender mercies towards Mr. Rarey were rapidly repeated, exciting the audience as with a touch of tragic. But the calm and steady manner of Mr. Rarey, as he watched the equine performance of the Highland fling, speedily dispelled all apprehensions for his safety. His complete success with this animal elicited great applause."

#### PLANNED A BOOK ON THE HORSE.

Mr. Rarey planned an illustrated book on the horse, in four parts and seventy-three chapters, and in 1862 entered into an agreement with Mr. Pliny Miles to make the necessary research

and prepare the copy. A complete outline of the book, with Mr. Miles' acknowledgment of receipt of the specifications, is among Mr. Rarey's papers; also several letters from Mr. Miles touching his progress in the work.

Part I was to have been devoted to the natural history of the horse and other beasts of burden, together with mention of the horse in history, poetry, mythology and art; Part II, to a history and description of the different races and breeds of horses in all countries; Part III, to horse taming, training, breeding and management, and Part IV, to a history of horse exhibi-



The Mansion Built by John S. Rarey.

tions, circuses and shows, ancient and modern, horse fairs and associations and a plan of an American Horse association. This last-named association was to be national in scope and was to hold meetings annually in different parts of the country, with premiums and prizes for the best specimens of horses exhibited, and prizes for the best essays on designated topics relating to the breeding, training and management of horses. A "Rarey medal," provided each year by the interest on an investment by Mr. Rarey in government bonds, was to be one of the essay prizes.



Mr. Miles began his research in the Astor and other libraries of New York, but soon went to London, where the facilities for his work were better. On December 20, 1862, he wrote that



Monument to John S. Rarey in Groveport Cemetery.

the manuscript was nearly ready, but there is no further knowledge of it. Probably it was never sent; certainly it was never published. The only published work by Mr. Rarey was his little

book of instructions on horses which sold for \$10. This book was pirated, so laden with trash as to be unrecognizable and sold to the great profit of the pirates, for \$2.50.

On the site of the house in which he was born, Mr. Rarey built a mansion where he entertained many a national celebrity, and made a home for his aged mother, to whom he showed the utmost devotion. By this time his health had begun to decline. His years abroad and at home had been strenuous. In the training of horses his physical strength had been continuously taxed and his great popularity had forced upon him extraordinary social duties. In consequence, he suffered, in December, 1865, a stroke of paralysis, from which he never recovered. He spent the subsequent summer at White Sulphur Springs and returned to Groveport where he lived quietly, hoping to regain strength for another visit to Europe. Accompanied by his niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, he went to Cleveland for a visit and, while there, died, October 4, 1866. The remains were brought to Groveport and at the Rarey mansion there, on the 7th, were held the funeral services which were attended by friends from all parts of the country. In accordance with his wish, the burial was made in the village cemetery beside the grave of his father.

Cruiser survived his master and friend nine years, dying at the Rarey farm, July 6, 1875, in the twenty-third year of his age. Mr. Rarey, whose fame he had shared, amply provided in his will for the comfort and care of the noble animal that had shared his triumphs and had helped to impress upon the world the important lesson that kindness is power.

## EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XXV. No. 4.

*E. O. Randall*

OCTOBER, 1916.

### THE VANISHED BISHOPRIC—AN INTERESTING BIT OF OHIO HISTORY.

"The Catholic Historical Review," for July, contains for people of Ohio a vastly interesting paper, "A Vanished Bishopric of Ohio," dealing with the French settlement at Scioto or Gallipolis on the Ohio River, and the proposition to establish thereat a Catholic bishopric some time about the year 1789, the year that Bishop John Carroll was appointed to the See of Baltimore, with jurisdiction over all the United States. It seems, according to the late Bishop Brute, that the See was actually established and the Abbe Boisanquier, a canon of St. Denys, Paris was chosen for the bishopric, though the appointment seems later to have been withdrawn and the projected diocese never became a reality, so that Boisanquier never came to America. In 1790, however, the promoters of the Scioto Company, with headquarters in Paris, renewed their appeal to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, and asked for the election of a Benedictine monk of St. Maur, one Dom Didier, as Bishop of the Colony. Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the Scioto Company and on April 26, 1790, appointed Didier—not Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic, as he wished, but Vicar-General "in spiritualibus" for the space of seven years. A copy of the Brief appointing Didier exists in the Catholic archives at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, and it makes clear that Didier's jurisdiction was to be confined to French settlers exclusively "on condition that the lands and place where they should found their lands and colony should not be within the diocese of any Bishop within the limits of the government and sway of the United States, which altogether lies under the jurisdiction of the Bishop (John Carroll) lately appointed in Baltimore by the Apostolic See."

The territory beyond the Alleghenies was an obscure one, and in 1790 it was not altogether certain whose was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this part of the United States. But it is certain that Propaganda intended that the new French colony would depend almost immediately upon the Bishop of Baltimore. Didier had already left Havre on May 10, 1790, and was preparing to leave about the end of the month for America. Bishop Carroll, in a letter dated September 3, 1791, speaks of "the arrival last year of a Benedictine monk, with a congregation on the banks of the Ohio."

The Scioto Colony was one of those dreams of empire and of a utopian paradise in the golden heart of America that characterized so many adventures just after the triumph of the American Revolution. Inspired by the example of Lafayette, Rochambeau, d'Estaing, Barnave and many other French noblemen in the War of Independence, as well as the alliance of the French with our Revolutionary forefathers, the attention of the French was directed to the United States as a desirable home. Hence the formation of the Scioto Company with headquarters in Paris. M. du Val d'Espremesnil, one of the leaders of the Company, succeeded in obtaining from the Ohio Land Company a vast territory of about three million acres, situated between the Ohio and Scioto rivers. Many French noblemen became shareholders in the new company, and in Paris "nothing was talked of in every social circle, but the paradise that was opened to Frenchmen in the western wilderness; the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Ohio."

D'Espremesnil was the heart of the company, and in his plans for this colony at Gallipolis, the settlement of which had been begun by the American promoters in preparation for the coming of the emigres, he determined to resurrect the spiritual and religious life of his nation that had been swallowed up in the chaos of the French Revolution, which was then on the road towards its worst excesses. Hence the proposal of a new diocese and the application to the Papal Nuncio at Paris for a Bishop for the contemplated See of Scioto or Gallipolis.

The first emigrants for this colonial dream of empire left Havre on May 26, 1790, numbering in all 139 persons. These were followed by many others, and during half of the year 1790 more than a thousand French colonists reached the United States under the guidance of the Scioto Company. By December, 1790, most of them were gathered at Gallipolis and Marietta, a city planned by General Farnum in July, 1788, in honor of Marie Antoinette.

But disaster awaited the luckless colonists. When these lands were sold to the Scioto Company, the Indians — Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, and Wyandottes — were still in possession of them, and the Frenchmen soon saw that they could only keep the land they had bought by buying it a second time from the Indians themselves. The colonists appealed to the American Government, and General St. Clair, with 3,000 soldiers, was sent to expel the Indians. St. Clair's expedition came to grief at Point Pleasant, one-half of his troops being killed and scalped, so that failure overtook the Colony of Scioto, and the colonists scattered, some to New Orleans, some to the North, some to St. Louis. Some found refuge in Virginia, and others, led by Marnesia, founded the settlement called Asylum, near Pittsburgh. There is a tradition of some of these Gallipolis colonists in Maine and Father de Barth, who refused the See of Philadelphia in 1816, was the son of one of the colonists. It all reads very much like the tragedy of Grand Pre, as told by Longfellow in his "Evangeline," save that the Indians took the place of the English; but



the dispersion of the colonists was much the same, and the flight from the terrors of the wilderness and the travels of many of them down the Ohio and Mississippi to asylum in St. Louis and New Orleans assuredly recall the story of Gabriel and, his beautiful but hapless sweetheart.

What became of Didier is not exactly known, but he seems to have deserted the small remnant of colonists who remained at Gallipolis and clung to their little white houses on the flat summit of the river bank and were found there as late as 1793 by Fathers Badin and Barri eres on their way to the Kentucky mission. It is surmised that he went to New Orleans in 1800, and he is supposed to have officiated as priest in St. Louis from 1793 to 1799. John Gilmary Shea says that he died in St. Louis. Of the Colony of Scioto the same historian says: "Left without a priest, the settlement at Gallipolis soon lost all coherence and dwindled away. Religion gradually faded out. Children were no longer baptized; they did not even ask Dr. Carroll to send them a priest. On Sundays instead of prayer and Catholic instructions, meetings were held where deism and infidelity were openly advocated. Such was the end of the Prefecture-Apostolic of the Scioto."

What became of the remnant of the colonists? Nothing is positively known, but scattered through the southeastern counties of Ohio—in Perry, Athens and Muskingum, for instance—are many Protestant families with French names, now curiously metamorphosed in spelling from the original French form but still having the unmistakable French sound, who may be their descendants.

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#### REVIEWS.

In "THE GREAT REVIVAL IN THE WEST, 1795-1805," Catharine C. Cleveland has made a valuable contribution to the history of the religious and social life of the pioneers. As a study of a marvelous psychological phenomena it is of intensely fascinating interest. It is the first scientific treatment of this great religious awakening upon which the student of history can place reliance. The author has evidently gone to the very source of things and made a personal examination of all the contemporary records. The result is the very best, and the most informing history of this religious emotionalism that raged so furiously in the West during the period of which she writes.

The same subject, in part, was written about by Richard M' Nemar in his little book entitled "The Kentucky Revival, or A Short History of the Late Extraordinary Outpouring of the Spirit of God in the Western States of America," and published at Cincinnati in 1807. M' Nemar was a participant and a firm believer in the great religious agitation, and writes from the standpoint of one inspired. His work is of great value as a part of the historical *res gestae*. But the student of today requires more than mere testimony; he inquires, he analyzes, he deduces. This

is what is done thoroughly in the book before us. The result is that what was regarded by its devotees as emotionalism from a Divine source is easily accounted for on physiological and psychological grounds. The same extraordinary phenomena in different manifestations is recorded in all ages and doubtless will continue to occur as long as man has mind, nerves and muscles.

This work was accepted by the Department of History of the University of Chicago as a doctoral discussion and it is well worthy of that honor and it will reflect honor upon that institution and the author alike.

Published by the University of Chicago Press. Price \$1.00 net, postage extra, weight 1lb. 2 oz.

"THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES." In thirteen volumes. Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph. D., Editor. George Foot Moore, A. M., D. D., LL. D., Consulting Editor. Vol. X. North American. By Hartley Burr Alexander, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Nebraska. Marshall Jones Company, Boston. 1916." Price: Buckram, \$6.00 per volume; half morocco, \$8.00 per volume.

This work of co-operative scholarship assembles, for the first time, in the English language the myth-lore of all the races of mankind. It is an unprecedented and monumental undertaking. To accomplish this has been summoned collaborators from the scholarship of the world. They are composed of learned specialists from the Universities of Copenhagen and Princeton, Prague and Nebraska, Oxford and Cairo, Edinburgh and Harvard, Tokyo and London, Finland and Pennsylvania. In addition the treasures of the great museums of the world have been ransacked for knowledge bearing upon the myths of mankind. The collections of Helsingfors, Copenhagen, Burma, the Smithsonian Institute, the British Museum, the Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago, the Peabody Museum in Cambridge and Salem, the American Museum of Natural History, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Metropolitan Museum of New York, have all contributed their striking and rare objects for the illustration of this work. Everything that scholarship, investigation and discovery has ever accomplished is here presented to the student of this great subject. It furnishes to the American library a collection of literature heretofore accessible only in the foreign languages. It is sincerely hoped that America will appreciate its greatness, place and usefulness.

The tenth volume is devoted to North American mythology and is by Professor Hartley Burr Alexander of the University of Nebraska. In this is a systematic arrangement of the ancient mythologies of the North American Indians. He has treated them in regional divisions: The Far North, The Forest Tribes, The Gulf Region, The Great Plains, Mountain and Desert, the Pueblo Dwellings, the Pacific Coast West and the Pacific Coast North. To this he has added instructive Notes and an elaborate Bibliography.

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